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JOHN PINTARD (1759–1844)
Founder of The New-York Historical Society, 1804
By Waldo & Jewett, New York, 1832

The New-York Historical Society

THE NEW-YORK
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY

January 1954

VOLUME XXXVIII NUMBER ONE

New York: 170 Central Park West

MR. PINTARD TAKES A WALK

A FACTUAL FANTASY, NOVEMBER 20, 1804

by R. W. G. Vail

AS HE CAME DOWN the steps of his home at 24 Duane Street, John Pintard paused and looked about him. He was proud of his native town, now the undisputed metropolis of the young republic, with its swarming polyglot population of close to 75,000 inhabitants. He was proud of its busy wharves and warehouses along the North and East rivers, its well-stocked shops which, for a mile and a half north from the Customs House in the old Presidential Mansion at Bowling Green, were rapidly elbowing the stately dwellings of the wealthy off Broadway. He had had an important share in all this activity when he was a merchant with his own ships and countinghouse but that was a disastrous chapter of his history which he would gladly forget—the chapter in which he had lost a fortune because he trusted a friend too far. A stockily built man of forty-five, handsome and self-reliant, with wavy dark brown hair, brown eyes and a healthy

complexion tinged with red by a vigorous life in the open and by a pleasant familiarity with port wine, he had an appealing though shy friendliness and had not lost his popularity or the confidence and esteem of his host of acquaintances, in spite of the fact that his fortune had been stripped from him and he had become familiar with the inside of a debtor's prison.

NEIGHBORHOOD OF PINTARD'S DUANE ST. HOME
Greenwich at Warren Street, three blocks south of Pintard's
By Baroness Hyde de Neuville, January 1809
Museum of the City of New York

It was late afternoon and as he glanced down the street to the North River the long slanting rays of the setting sun caught the masts and spars of a great new square-rigger on the stocks at Rhinelander's Ship Yard and made their glistening silhouettes sparkle as though part of a ship of glass. Turning to the east he was charmed by the rose-pink glow of the winter sunshine on the wall of the nearby Duane Street Methodist Church and on the substantial bulk of the New York Hospital in its ample grounds three blocks farther east on Broadway.

The busy city lay below him to the south and east and as he strode along the treelined walk of Greenwich Street, past the modest homes of the upper town, he saw far down the thoroughfare the firefly street lamps coming to life one by one as his friend

he lamplighter made his evening rounds. Nearer by, the musical call of the cat's meat man echoed along the road while a contented pig grunted her satisfaction at the refuse dumped in the gutter by a slatternly servant, much to the disgust of the tidy-minded Mr. Pintard who, as Clerk of the Corporation of New York and City Inspector, knew only too well the high mor-

JOHN STREET M.E. CHURCH AS PINTARD SAW IT

The steeple of his own Church du St. Esprit shows at the left
By Joseph B. Smith, 1817 (depicting earlier period)

Museum of the City of New York

tality of the last few years. Only a year ago the dreaded malignant or yellow fever had caused the deaths of six hundred citizens and the illness of another thousand. Business had been brought to a standstill for five months and the people had fled to the villages of Greenwich, Chelsea, Yorkville, and Bloomingdale and to the more distant havens of New Rochelle, Newtown, Brooklyn, and Flatbush. Even his weekly report as City Inspector, which he had so recently taken to the offices of the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Mercantile Advertiser* for publication in tomorrow's papers, showed thirty-nine burials in nine cemeteries, many of which no doubt could be traced to the unsanitary conditions of the town. He must see if something could not be done to keep the garbage and the pigs off the streets. At any rate, he had

finally succeeded in having the swampy, unwholesome Collect Pond taken care of and it was even now being filled in to the great improvement of the Sixth Ward.

Having walked the four blocks to Murray Street, Mr. Pintard turned east and within a few rods found himself skirting the north side of the yard of Columbia College where his friend Dr. David Hosack taught Botany and Materia Medica and had only recently secured from the City a tract of land above the town for his Elgin Botanical Garden. The good doctor, a former student at Nassau Hall, was his most enthusiastic supporter in many worthy causes, including the new enterprise he planned to put in motion this very evening.

He remembered how hot it was last August at the peaceful, sleepy, sweltering college commencement which had graduated thirty Bachelors and four Masters of Arts. How different from his own last college year at old Nassau in 1776 when the war engulfed the quiet pursuit of Latin verbs and natural philosophy and the professors suddenly became captains over companies of student-soldiers and townsmen and they all marched away to defend their country! He had joined the company of William C. Houston, professor of mathematics, even though that officer, remembering his student's scant seventeen years, had forbidden him to enlist. But he had marched along to New York with his classmates anyhow and, during a lull in the campaign, they all marched back to Princeton to get their degrees. He did not like to remember the remaining years of the war for he had served as deputy to his Uncle Lewis Pintard who took his own duties extremely lightly as Commissary of American Prisoners held by the British in the occupied city. In spite of the meagre help young Pintard could give his comrades imprisoned in the Provost and the sugar houses, he had seen many patriot soldiers die of disease, starvation, and neglect. There had been so little he could do as General Washington's representative in the hostile city of British soldiers and Tories during the bitter years of occupation. What a change from those times when business was at a stand-

WASHINGTON ENTERING NEW YORK 1783: BROADWAY NORTH FROM FULTON

Middle background: The Park and the cupolaed Provost jail
Chromolithograph by E. P. & L. Restein, 1879

The New-York Historical Society

still, a large part of the town deserted and much of the rest of it in ashes—each side claiming that the other had set it afire!

He liked better to recall the happy morning just twenty-one years ago when he and his former college friend James Beekman, Jr., on their borrowed nags, formed part of the cavalcade which rode the four miles down to the city from the Dove Tavern behind General Washington and his troop of horse to take part in the British evacuation ceremony. He never would forget riding his fractious horse past the British army drawn up in The Fields where The Park now spread its pleasant shade in summer and then on foot down through the cheering crowds to the Battery to see the American flag raised once more over old Fort George. He also remembered with satisfaction his later friendship with Washington, then President, and the way the

latter had enjoyed the old Dutch custom of holding a New Year's reception in the Presidential mansion at the corner of Cherry Street and Franklin Square.

Now the old part of the city was all rebuilt and growing rapidly to the northward, filling in the vacant lots with new buildings at the rate of 700 per year. Mr. Pintard thought with pride of his share in rechristening the streets which formerly had been named for British royalty but which now bore such names as Columbia, Liberty, Washington, Hancock, Warren, Green, Laurens, and Thompson. He would not wish to change the narrow, twisting streets of the old historical Dutch part of the town but he hoped that, as it expanded still farther up Manhattan Island, he would be able to prevail on the authorities to lay out the newer part of the city in a gridiron of regularly numbered streets and broad avenues.

Drawing his greatcoat a little closer against the evening chill, Mr. Pintard strode on through the gathering dusk. Another block and, despite his growing deafness, he could hear the clip-clop of an occasional horse making his sedate way along the cobbled streets and he knew he had reached Broadway. The well-shaded houses and shops of brick and stone were neatly built in the English style and the polished brass of their name-plates and knockers gleamed from the broad and substantial doors while the soft candlelight of their friendly windows beckoned to the traveller with glimpses of the comfort and cheer within.

It was after five as Mr. Pintard came to the neat red-brick foot path along the main street and so he was not surprised that there were no crowds gawking at the bow windows of the bookstores and printsellers' shops, the tempting displays of the jewellers and silversmiths, the milliners, linen drapers, and pastry cooks, for the countinghouses were closed for the night and the fashionable gentry in their carriages had disappeared two hours ago and were either lounging in their taverns and coffeehouses or had gone home to dress for their hearty eight o'clock suppers or to prepare for a ball or an evening's performance at The New York Theatre.

NEW CITY HALL UNDER CONSTRUCTION (LEFT); THE BRIDEWELL (CENTER)
View south from Chambers St.; Brick Church steeple (left); St. Paul's (right)
By Baroness Hyde de Neuville, February 1808
The New York Public Library

Mr. Pintard crossed Broadway at the upper corner of the Park but gave scant attention to the Jail, the Bridewell, the Alms House, the Arsenal, or the Court House to the north for, as Clerk of the Corporation, he was much more interested in the building operations around the new City Hall which last year had begun to rise on the upper side of the Park and which, judging from the plans so attractively designed by McComb and Mangin, would certainly be the handsomest building in New York. Progress had been maddeningly slow. There had been trouble in getting the marble facing from quarry to site and though the structural work was pretty well along and they had begun applying the marble veneer, it did not look as though they would get much above the heads of the first windows by spring. He wondered if he would ever live to see the beautiful building completed and occupied.

As Mr. Pintard crossed the Park towards Chatham Street, its four acres looked beautiful indeed with the street lights shedding an intermittent glow over the bare branches of its ghostly trees.

BRICK CHURCH FRONTING ON BEEKMAN ST. WHERE PINTARD CROSSED

Looking down Nassau to Trinity (left); down Chatham to St. Paul's (right)
Watercolor by Archibald Robertson, *c.* 1800

The New-York Historical Society

How different from its appearance in summer when the elms, plane trees, willows, and catalpas were all in leaf, with the stately poplars surrounding the Park like a hollow square of British lobsterbacks standing at present arms! What a shame that the gentry no longer found pleasure in strolling in the Park now that it had become a popular resort of the hoi polloi! The city was certainly being overrun by all the English, Irish, and German riff-raff—so many of them the offspring of the deserters and camp followers of the opposing armies of some twenty years ago.

As Mr. Pintard emerged at the Chatham Street side of the Park he saw that the sunset glow had faded from the spire of the Brick Church and from those of the dozen other churches of various denominations in the old part of town to the south, leaving them black against the gray-blue sky like carboniferous stalagmites in a subterranean cave. Glancing down Chatham to Broadway he could still make out the silhouette of the steeple of St. Paul's

PARK THEATRE AND ST. PAUL'S CHAPEL AS PINTARD SAW THEM
Looking down Park Row (Chatham St.) to Broadway
Watercolor signed "C. Milbourne, 1798"
The New-York Historical Society

where so often he had seen General Washington at his devotions and Governor George Clinton in his box pew across the chapel, with the solemn admonitions of a dull but learned sermon rolling down to the nodding congregation from the high pulpit which, in spite of the patriotic zeal of the Liberty Boys, was still adorned with the three feathers of the Prince of Wales.

Just across Chatham Street from where he stood and almost down to Broadway, the handsome façade of the New York Theatre reminded Mr. Pintard of the splendid performance he had seen there the previous evening. Thomas A. Cooper, the recently returned English actor, had certainly distinguished himself in the character of Macbeth, with the able support of Mrs. Melmoth as Lady Macbeth and Mr. Martin as Macduff. He remembered that Mr. Cooper's attitudes had been wonderfully improved since his earlier appearances in the city; his voice, which had always been the finest male voice the recent New York theatre-goers had ever heard, was stronger and more flexi-

ble than ever and his performance far beyond anything Mr. Pintard had ever witnessed. William Dunlap, the manager, was certainly to be applauded for providing such excellent entertainment for the people of the city. With the opening of the new season, the Theatre appeared once more to have become the resort of the socially elite, though not all of its 1,200 seats had been filled. In the new decoration of the boxes one noticed tints of the lily and the rose, heightened and relieved by the use of flowers, mouldings, and cornices of gold—strong attractions to the lovers of taste and elegance. They certainly were adapted to exhibit to the greatest advantage the assemblage of beauty and fashion with which its devotees hoped to see their theatre honored during the season.

Crossing Chatham Street just below the Brick Church, Mr. Pintard turned east on Beekman and then south on Nassau Street for the last eight blocks of his walk. As he strolled along it occurred to him that he himself had lived through the times which, as his friend Tom Paine said, "had tried men's souls" and had known many of the founders of the new nation. He was proud that he too had had a modest part in those stirring events. He had heard the Declaration of Independence read to the faculty, students, and populace at Princeton the day the post rider came dashing through on his foam-flecked horse from Philadelphia on his way to New York and the east with his saddlebags stuffed with the first printing of that great document. That night Nassau Hall had been brilliantly illuminated and how he had cheered when independence had been proclaimed to the accompaniment of a triple volley of musketry! During that same memorable night of July 9th, 1776, the Liberty Boys in nearby New York had pulled down the leaden statue of George III on Bowling Green for their patriotic sisters in Litchfield to melt and mould into some tens of thousands of bullets with which to impress on the redcoats the fiery determination of the patriots. Later, after the British had occupied the city, young Pintard saw, with ill-suppressed anger, that now the English soldiers had retaliated by

KEY

A Pintard's home on Duane St.
B Duane St. M.E. Church
C Columbia College
D The Bridewell
E Almshouse on Chambers St.
F New City Hall under construction
G Provost or City Jail
H Brick Presbyterian Church
I New York or Park Theatre
J St. Paul's Chapel
K John St. M.E. Church
L New York Society Library
M New Dutch Church
N French Church (Pintard's)
O Trinity Church
P Wall St. Presbyterian Church
Q Old City Hall

knocking off the head and arms of the marble statue of William Pitt, friend of the Colonies, which they had found on Wall Street.

Mr. Pintard's friends had helped in drafting the constitution of the new nation and he knew many of its cabinet members and other officials, civil and military. Even now history was being made and some of those who had been prominent in its making were beginning to die—men like General Philip Schuyler of Albany who had just passed away and the great statesman and financier, Alexander Hamilton, who had been killed last summer by that villain Aaron Burr who was even now brazenly returning to the capital to resume his office as Vice President of the nation even though under indictment in New Jersey for murder.

Through Jefferson's foresight (or folly, as some said) and the diplomatic skill of Robert R. Livingston, the purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon had doubled the size of our country while removing the menace of possible future aggression by the Spanish and French along our western and southern frontiers. Mr. Pintard smiled to himself, for he knew that it was his exact, firsthand, official report on the territory of Louisiana that, perhaps more than anything else, had led to its purchase. With what satisfaction he remembered the city's celebration of that great event on May 12th with its flag-decked buildings, cheering crowds, colorful parade, lively bands, clanging bells and roaring cannon—a day to record in the annals of a great and growing country. And now President Jefferson had sent Captains Lewis and Clarke to explore this vast new territory to see what we had gotten for our fifteen million dollars and how best to make use of it for the benefit of our land-hungry citizens.

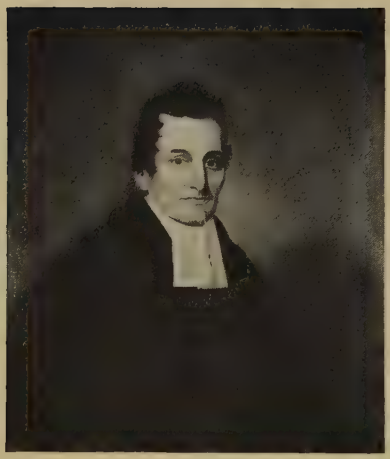
Then there was the war with the Barbary pirates which we had begun rather than see our ships captured and sunk, our citizens murdered, enslaved, or held for ransom. Of course no one knew as yet how it all would end but at least we had shown our spirit by refusing to swallow the insults or to pay the annual tribute demanded by these freebooters of the Mediterranean—a tribute

DR. WILLIAM LINN (1752–1808)
A Founder of the Society
By John Wesley Jarvis, 1805
Courtesy of Mrs. H. W. Sage

which the great powers of Europe had meekly paid. And Lieutenant Decatur's magnificent feat last February when his little band of volunteers had crept into the harbor of Tripoli in the dead of night and had captured and burned the enemy frigate under the very nose of the Bashaw—surely that would be remembered to all time as one of the greatest of American heroic exploits.

These were indeed stirring days and history was still in the making. High time, therefore, that an effort be made to preserve the story of these momentous events while the contemporary records were still available and while the men who made the history were still alive to tell of their part in their nation's glory! And so Mr. Pintard, a purposeful gleam in his eye, quickened his pace as he went on down Nassau, past Ann, to the corner of Fair Street, the home of his good friend, Reverend William Linn, Pastor of the Collegiate Dutch Reformed Church, who had preceded him at the College of New Jersey by only four years.

Dr. Linn's fifty-two years had been full of pious and scholarly usefulness. As a young man, this tall, vigorous Scotch-Irish patriot had been a chaplain of the Continental Army under Washington and of the House of Representatives during the



REV. JOHN N. ABEEL (1769–1812)
A Founder of the Society
Artist Unknown
West End Collegiate Church

SAMUEL BAYARD (1767–1840)
A Founder of the Society
Artist Unknown
Owner unknown; photo NYHS

first Congress. In addition to his pastoral duties, he had served as acting President of Rutgers College of which he was still a trustee, as a regent of the University of the State of New York, and had only recently been chosen President of Union College, an honor which, however, he could not accept. His associate, Reverend John N. Abeel, who lived a few doors down the street and who had stopped at his house to accompany Dr. Linn to the meeting, was a studious young man of thirty-five and very proud of the degree of Doctor of Divinity which Harvard had just given him. He was deeply interested in education as well as in theology, had taught at his Alma Mater and was now a trustee of Columbia College. Because of his descent from one of the earliest Dutch traders of Albany, he was naturally interested in the history of the region and in the plan which his friend the City Clerk had on foot.

As Mr. Pintard reached their corner, the two waiting clergymen joined him and they continued down Nassau towards their destination. As they crossed John Street they remarked that it

DAVID HOSACK, M.D. (1769–1835)
A Founder of the Society
By A. G. Heaton after John Trumbull
The New-York Historical Society

ANTHONY BLEECKER (1770–1827)
A Founder of the Society
Copy after William Dunlap
The New-York Historical Society

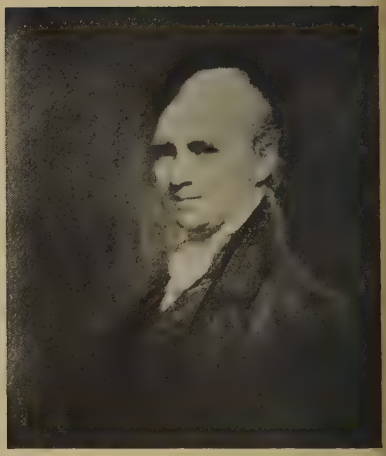
vas perhaps fortunate that the John Street Methodist Church iad outlived its natural antagonist, the old John Street Theatre, ver near Broadway. They all, however, could give their whole-earted support to the city's subscription library in its narrow ut attractive two-story building on Nassau opposite the New Dutch Church. Its collection of over 10,000 volumes was of great ervice to the community, though financial support was hard to ecure and the rental of the law offices on the lower floor was by io means sufficient to maintain and add to the library's ollections.

Two more blocks brought them to Wall Street and, as they ooked up past the First Presbyterian Church to Trinity at the iead of the street, they saw three familiar figures bearing down on them. They included, Mr. Pintard was happy to see, his ex-ellent friend Dr. David Hosack, already at thirty-five a dis-inguished physician, botanist, and professor at the College, and Anthony Bleecker, a year his junior, heir to one of New York's oldest estates, merchant and literateur. Both of them had walked

REV. SAMUEL MILLER (1769–1850)

A Founder of the Society
By Thomas Sully, 1812

Courtesy Mrs. Breckenridge Long

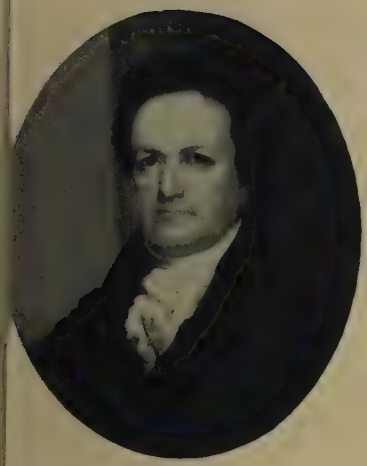


REV. JOHN M. MASON (1770–1829)

A Founder of the Society
By Gilbert Stuart, *c.* 1805

From Park's *Stuart, IV:* 319

over from their nearby homes on Broadway and, as they turned down Wall Street, had stopped to pick up another young man of their own age, Reverend Samuel Miller, one of the pastors of the Wall Street Presbyterian Church. This aristocratic and talented young clergyman was also pleased to have received not one but two honorary degrees of Doctor of Divinity this year—one from the University of Pennsylvania and the other from Union College. Greetings over, Pintard and his friends proceeded to their destination, the old City Hall at the corner of Wall and Nassau Streets. They were now in the very heart of historic New Amsterdam and two of the seventeenth-century Dutch houses with their steep crow-stepped gable ends were still standing on the east side of Broad Street—the street which ran south from the City Hall and which had been a canal in the Dutch days but had eventually become one of the main business thoroughfares of the town. Only half a dozen blocks down the street stood the popular tavern of Samuel Fraunces where General Washington bade a sad farewell to his officers at the end of the Revolution.



DE WITT CLINTON (1769–1828)
A Founder of the Society
By John Wesley Jarvis, *c.* 1816
The New-York Historical Society

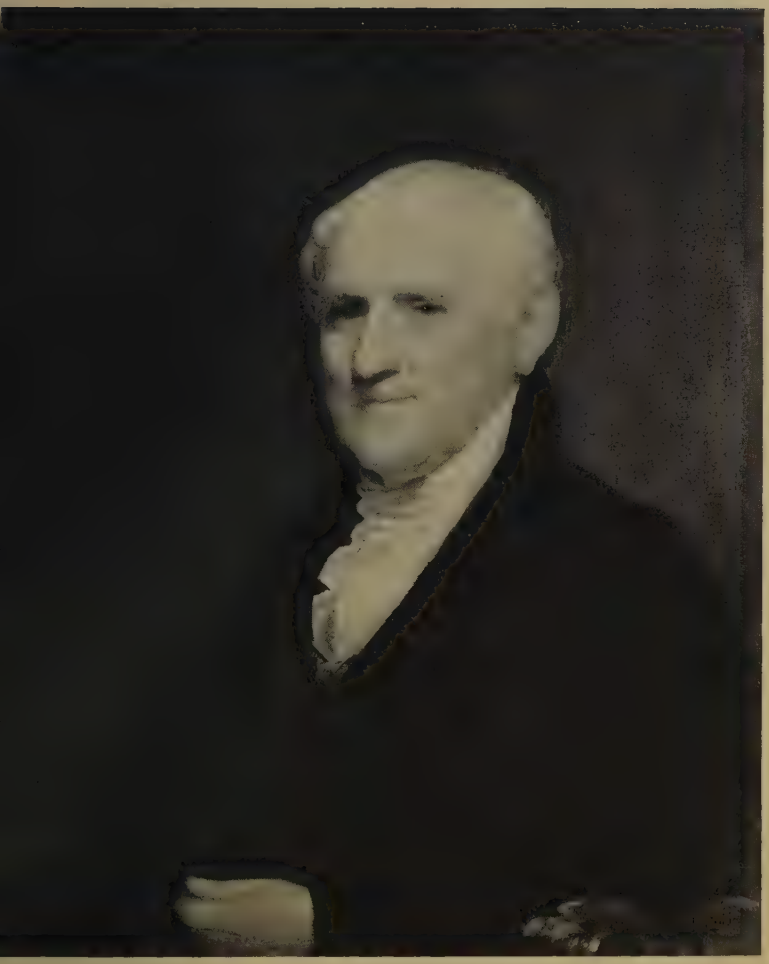
PETER G. STUYVESANT (1778–1847)
A Founder of the Society
Miniature by Unknown Artist
Owner unknown; photo NYHS

So the little party of half a dozen friends turned in under the portico of the City Hall and proceeded to their appropriate meeting place, the Mayor's office in the Picture Room where Trumbull's full-length portraits of Washington, Hamilton, and Governor George Clinton already hung as a worthy beginning of the gallery of distinguished citizens which he had been commissioned to paint for the City. They found Mayor De Witt Clinton and the Honorable Egbert Benson awaiting them. The former was a young man of thirty-five with some years of experience both in the Legislature and in Congress and a strong supporter of the many worthy enterprises of his friend the City Clerk. He was also interested in any new form of transportation which would bring the products of the back country to New York and take the city's merchandise to the west. He was even beginning to talk about a crazy notion of his regarding the digging of a canal clear across the State—but otherwise he was a sane and useful citizen.

Of course everyone knew and admired the Honorable Egbert Benson who at fifty-eight looked back upon a distinguished ca-

reer that included a dozen years as Attorney General of the State, most of them during the Revolutionary War, five years in the Continental Congress, later service in the first two Congresses under the federal constitution, and eight recent years as Judge of the New York Supreme Court. While greetings were being exchanged the three remaining members of the group hurried in. They were Reverend John Mitchell Mason, a native of New York and graduate of Columbia who had succeeded his father as pastor of the Cedar Street Presbyterian Church and who also could take pride in a new title of Doctor of Divinity bestowed by the University of Pennsylvania within the year; Samuel Bayard, the thirty-seven-year-old lawyer who, after graduating from the College of New Jersey as valedictorian of his class, became clerk of the United States Supreme Court and was then appointed United States agent for the prosecution of admiralty claims in England from 1794 to 1798; and last and youngest of the group, handsome Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, great-great-grandson of Director-General Petrus Stuyvesant of the wooden leg and peppery disposition. He was born in New York in 1778, graduated from Columbia College and was admitted to the bar, but spent most of his time administering the properties which had descended from his Dutch ancestors.

So this was the group brought together by John Pintard on that early winter evening of 1804 to lay the foundations for what they hoped would be a great and lasting historical society. The founder chose his associates well and it would have been difficult to find a more distinguished body of scholarly and public-spirited citizens. Their undergraduate days were pretty evenly divided between Columbia College and the College of New Jersey at Princeton and most of them belonged either to the Dutch Reformed or Presbyterian churches, though Pintard himself attended the Huguenot Church. They had served their city, State, and nation well and now were met to find some permanent means of preserving the historical record of their country's past as a guide and inspiration to the generations still to come.



EGBERT BENSON (1746–1833)
A Founder and first President (1805–1815) of the Society
By Gilbert Stuart, 1805
The New-York Historical Society

Minutes
of the
New York Historical Society.

New York. Nov.r 20th 1804.

The following Persons viz.t Egbert Benson, Dewitt Clinton, Rev.d William Linn, Rev.d Samuel Miller, Rev.d John N. Abeel, Rev.d John M. Mason, [redacted], Doctor David Hosack, Anthony Bleecker, Samuel Bayard, Peter Stuyvesant and John Pintard, being assembled in the Picture Room of the City Hall of the City of New York, agreed to form themselves into a Society the principal design of which should be to collect and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil or ecclesiastical History of the United States in general and of this State in particular and appointed Mr. Benson, Doctor Miller and Mr. Pintard a Committee to prepare and report a draft of a Constitution.

The Meeting then adjourned until Monday evening the 10th of December next.

MINUTES OF THE FOUNDING MEETING, NOVEMBER 20, 1804
In Mayor De Witt Clinton's office, City Hall on Wall Street
From the original Minute Book at the Society

When the brief but enthusiastic organization meeting was over, is simple minutes, written by its Secretary, John Pintard, filled it a single page:

New York, Nov^{r}. 20th. 1804

The following Persons viz: Egbert Benson, Dewitt Clinton, Rev^{d}. William Linn, Rev^{d}. Samuel Miller, Rev^{d}. John N. Abeel, Rev^{d}. John M. Mason, Doctor David Hosack, Anthony Bleecker, Samuel Bayard, Peter Stuyvesant and John Pintard, being assembled in the Picture Room of the City Hall of the City of New York, agreed to form themselves into a Society the principal design of which should be to collect and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil or ecclesiastical History of the United States in general and of this State in particular and appointed M^{r}. Benson, Doctor Miller and M^{r}. Pintard a Committee to prepare and report a draft of a Constitution.

The meeting then adjourned until Monday evening the 10th. of December next.

The others had all departed for their nearby homes, their suppers, and their various evening occupations, but, before leaving the historic old building, Mr. Pintard went up to the second-floor balcony which looked down on Wall and Broad Streets. Standing on this very balcony, General Washington had taken the oath of office as the first President of the United States. Mr. Pintard reverently placed his hand on the iron railing as he looked across the imagined crowd and once more heard the cheers and saw again the calm face of the great leader who had brought the nation into being.

As he stood there lost in meditation, Mr. Pintard thought of his own advice to the people of Massachusetts which had already resulted in the formation of a historical society to preserve the stirring history of their State. He recalled his own first attempt to form such a collection—the museum which he had begun when he was active in the Tammany Society but which, under other hands, had degenerated into a collection of curiosities and oddities. He wanted to do more than that. He wanted to form a society which would support a great library, museum, and art gallery devoted to the recording of the history of the Western Hemisphere; a society which, through its scholarly lectures and

OLD CITY HALL ON WALL STREET FACING DOWN BROAD STREET

Watercolor by John Joseph Holland, 1797

Stokes Collection, New York Public Library

publications, through visits to its library and galleries, would do its share not only to preserve but also to interpret and disseminate the history and ideals of our nation. And now the great enterprise which had been close to his heart for so long was actually launched!

And as Mr. Pintard stood on Washington's balcony that still November night of 1804, looking over the ancient town he loved, the watchman on his rounds below paced sedately past and the quiet air of the all-but-deserted street echoed to his call:

"Eight o'clock of a fine winter's evening and all is well!"

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

By showing what John Pintard and his friends were thinking about and what their town was like on November 20, 1804, we have tried to set the stage for the founding of our Society whose one hundred and fiftieth birthday we will celebrate in November of this year. But of

ourse you are wondering how much truth there is in this yarn about ur Society's founder. Maybe he *didn't* take this particular walk on this rticular day—but he *might* have; maybe he didn't think these particu- r thoughts on any one occasion—but the known facts of his life show at he *might* have. Certainly the town was like that and this group of tizens *did* meet at the City Hall that day to found The New-York istorical Society.

In an attempt to make the story accurate we have used, among others, e following sources:

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WHERE WASHINGTON WAS INAUGURATED
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THE STORY OF AMERICAN HOSPITALS PICTURED ON OLD BLUE CHINA

by Arthur H. Merritt

AMONG THE many American objects of historic interest pictured on Staffordshireware by the English potters, were goodly number of public buildings, including various institu-ons for the care of the sick and unfortunate. No less than thir-een American hospitals built more than a hundred years ago ere represented on the tableware of our forefathers. To review riefly the history of these institutions and the care which they rovided for the public of that day makes an interesting story, specially when compared with present-day health service.

At the time these institutions were built, there was no anes-hesia, no knowledge of asepsis, no vaccination before 1798, and ractically no public sanitation. As late as 1825, it is estimated hat no fewer than 25,000 hogs roamed the streets of New York cting as scavengers. Yellow fever, smallpox, and cholera, among ther contagious diseases, were common visitants. Those so-alled "good old days," it would appear, were not so good.

While considerable information regarding these institutions s to be found scattered through the literature of Old Blue China, o attempt has been made, so far as the author knows, to bring ogether in a single article the history of these institutions and heir contribution to human welfare. It is an interesting tale they ave to tell for it reveals the unselfish and public-spirited effort hat was made a hundred or more years ago to care for the sick nd indigent of that day. In many instances it shows human ature at its best in unselfish service for others.

I

New York Almshouse has a long and interesting history dating rom 1736, at which time it was known as the Public Workhouse nd House of Correction. It was located on the Commons, now a

part of City Hall Park. In 1796, having outgrown its quarters, a second almshouse was built from the proceeds of a lottery. Again in 1811 larger quarters being needed, a six-acre plot costing $22,000 was purchased at 26th Street and East River on which a third almshouse was erected and made ready for occupancy four years later. This was an imposing structure, 325 feet in length with two additional wings. In 1848 its inmates were removed to Blackwell's Island at which time the building was remodeled and became a part of Bellevue Hospital. It is this building, before remodeling, that is pictured by the English potters as the "New York Alms House." It is also the central building in the group of structures identified as "Belle Vue" hospital by Dr. Fenwick Beekman in his interesting article in which is reported the long list of deaths from Yellow Fever during the epidemic of 1795.[1]

[1] Dr. Beekman reproduces the view on a Staffordshire plate by Andrew Stevenson, also based on the engraving in Blunt's *Stranger's Guide to the City of New York*, 1817. See Fenwick Beekman, "The Origin of 'Bellevue' Hospital," in *NYHS Quarterly*, July 1953, p. 227.

Views of the Almshouse were made by Ridgway, Stevenson, ubbs and Clews, and are to be seen on plates, platters, and water chers in dark blue and on a teaset in red. The illustration is of lark-blue platter by J & W Ridgway (1814–1830), based on e drawing by C. A. Busby as engraved by W. Hooker in unt's *Stranger's Guide* (New York: 1817). Collection of the thor.

II

New York Hospital. At the commencement exercises of King's llege in 1769 the Governor of the Province made a plea for nds with which to build a hospital where the "sick and suffer- g" could be properly cared for. A charter having been granted, e erection of a building was begun in 1773 on a five-acre lot unded by Broadway, Worth, Church, and Duane Streets, hich at that time was nearly a mile north of the town. So se- uded was the site that an adjoining lot was at that time and for veral years later, a favorite dueling ground. During construc- on the building was badly damaged by fire, following which the ew York Assembly came to the rescue with a grant of 4,000 unds. It was completed in 1776, its first patients being wounded ontinental soldiers. During the British occupation it was used as barracks. Not until 1791 was it again opened for the reception f patients.

Three years earlier (in 788) it had been the scene f the so-called "Doctor's lob" incited by opposition dissection. During the riot, ve persons were killed and veral wounded. For several ays the physicians and medi- al students were housed in ie jail for safety. Later the uilding, which was 224 feet n length, was repaired and

became the center of medical life in the City until it was demolished in 1868.

Views of the hospital were used in the decoration of dark-blue pitchers; also on a teaset in various colors. Ralph Stevenson is the only known potter. The illustration shows a blue pitcher by Ralph Stevenson (1815–1834) from the collection of Mr. and Mrs. William E. Cross. The building at the extreme left is the first New York Insane Asylum, 1808–1821. The view is based on the engraving by James D. Stout, 1817.

III

New York Insane Hospital. While some care had been given to the insane at the New York Hospital, it was not until 1808 that a building was erected on the hospital grounds exclusively for their care. Due to unsatisfactory surroundings and lack of proper facilities it later became apparent that needed treatment could

not be given its inmates. Under these circumstances, the New York legislature in 1816 made provision for a grant of $10,000 annually for forty-four years. Two years later a 77-acre site was purchased on Bloomingdale Heights at a cost of $500 an acre.

A splendidly equipped structure of red standstone, three stories in height, was built, which became famous throughout the

nited States as one of the first institutions to provide proper atment for the insane. It soon became known as the Blooming-le Asylum because of its location, dating *c.* 1825–1894.

In 1894 it was moved to White Plains and the property on nich it was located was sold, some part of which is now oc-pied by Columbia University.

Views of the hospital in dark blue were used in the decoration platters and water pitchers. Clews was the only potter. The lustration shows a pitcher by James and Ralph Clews (1819–36) from the collection of the author. It is based on a drawing A. Dick, engraved by H. Fossette, 1831.

IV

Boston Alms House, as shown in the illustration, replaced an rlier one which had been destroyed by fire. The New Alms ouse, as it was called, was erected on the banks of the Charles

iver where it stood from 1800 to 1825. At the latter date it was ken down to make way for a new street. It was an ornate struc-ıre built of brick and marble, 270 feet long with 48 rooms, and ıtirely surrounded by a brick wall.

Views of it may be seen on a large soup tureen, 9 by 12 inches, y J & W Ridgway and on a 10½ by 15-inch platter by Ralph

Stevenson (1815–1834). The illustration shows the platter in dark blue, based on the drawing and engraving by Abel Bowen, 1825. Collection of the author.

V

Massachusetts General Hospital. Of all the American hospitals depicted on Old Blue China, this would appear to have been the most famous, not only because it was the scene of the first public demonstration of ether anesthesia, but because of its long and interesting history. The following informative letters tell their own story of the initiation of plans for the building of a hospital for the care of "lunatics and other sick persons":

Dear Sir— Boston March 9—1810

At the request of a number of gentlemen assembled in Vilas Hall the last evening, I communicate to you their proceedings.

Voted—That a Committee be appointed to consider and report on the expediency of establishing a General Hospital for the reception of the Sick, Lunatics and pregnant women who may need such asylum.

Voted—That Doct. John Warren, Hon. John Philips, Peter C. Brooks, Esq. and Docts. James Jackson, John C. Warren, John Gorham, be a Committee for this purpose.

Permit me Sir, in behalf of the Gentlemen who assembled, respectfully to solicit your attention to this important subject.

Yours respectfully
John Bartlett for
Doct. John Warren[2]

Later the following appeal for funds was made under date of August 20, 1810:

Sir.

It has appeared very desirable to a number of respectable gentlemen, that a hospital for the reception of lunatics and other sick persons should be established in this town. By the appointment of a number of these gentlemen, we are directed to adopt such methods as will appear best-calculated to promote such an establishment. . . .

When, as sometimes happens, workmen have not the means of payment, they become objects of charity; and the welfare of such persons should be considered among the strong motives in favour of establishing a hospital. . . .

[2] The original of this letter, carefully framed, hangs on the walls of the Memorial Building on Fruit Street, Boston.

It is possible that we may be asked whether the almshouse does not
nswer the purpose for which a hospital is proposed. That it does not,
very certain. . . . The almshouse receiving all those who do not take
re of themselves, and who are destitute of property, whether they be
d and infirm, and unable to provide means of assistance; or are too
cious and debauched to employ themselves in honest labor. . . . It must
ecessarily happen that in many instances the worst members of the
mmunity, the debauched and profligate, obtain admission into this
use. Hence it has become, in some measure disreputable to live in it:
nd, not infrequently, those who are the most deserving objects of
narity cannot be induced to enter it. To some of them death appears
ss terrible than a residence in the almshouse. . . .

We are sir, very respectfully your obedient servants,

James Jackson
John C. Warren

In response to this appeal the legislature promptly granted the
ospital the right to hold real and personal property to yield an

annual income of $30,000. It was not, however, until after the War of 1812 that an organized effort was made to raise the necessary funds. This was done by a house-to-house canvass. Within ten days $93,969 was obtained, of which $43,000 was specifically designated for the building of the Boston Insane Asylum. The cornerstone of the General Hospital was laid in 1818 with "civil, religious and masonic services."

The hospital building, 168 feet long, located on the shore of the Charles River, was completed and the first patient admitted September 3, 1821. In 1848 two wings were added at a cost of $120,000 making it the "most imposing structure in the state." It had been designed by the celebrated architect, Charles Bulfinch, designer of the Boston State House, and was regarded as the last word in hospital appointments.

It has the further distinction of being the first hospital in which a public demonstration of the use of ether as an anesthetic was given by Dr. William T. G. Morton, a practicing dentist in Boston, on October 16, 1846. Not often is it given to an individual to be the bearer of gifts so great as to touch at some time in life the health and well-being of millions of people throughout the world. Yet that is true of the giver of surgical anesthesia, on whose tombstone it is written,

> Before whom in all time surgery was agony,
> By whom pain in surgery was averted and annuld,
> Since whom science has controlled pain.

Views of the hospital are to be found on platters, deep dishes, and plates of several sizes. Potters: J & W Ridgway and Ralph Stevenson (1815–1834). The latter's dark-blue platter, illustrated from the collection of the author, is based on a drawing by J. R. Penniman as engraved by Abel Bowen, 1825.

VI

Boston Insane Hospital. In 1816 the estate of Joseph Barrell consisting of eighteen acres was purchased by the Massachusetts General Hospital for the purpose of providing care for those

uffering from mental disease. The beautiful home of its previous wner was remodeled and two wings added at a cost of $186,000. wo years later it was opened for "the reception of boarders." he estate on which it was located was noted for its well-kept ardens and rare plants.

In appreciation of the generous contribution by Mr. John IcLean the hospital was given his name. It was administered by ie trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and was re-arded as a model institution.

Various views of the hospital were used in the decoration of ieces of a dinner service, including small plates, gravy tureens, nd cup plates. Potter: J & W Ridgway (1814–1830). The illus-ration (left above) shows a dark-blue plate from the collection f the author. The view is after a drawing and engraving by Abel owen, 1825.

VII

Baltimore Hospital. Like the Baltimore Almshouse the hospi-al was located at some distance from the city on Franklin Road ear Calverton. In 1851 additional hospital facilities were pro-ided within the city limits. In 1870 the old hospital was disposed f. The building therefore dates from 1798 to 1870.

Views of the hospital were used in the decoration of a teaset. otter unknown. The illustration (right above) shows a view

adopted from *Picture of Baltimore* (1832) on a dark-blue saucer from the collection of the author.

VIII

Baltimore Almshouse. In 1783 the country seat of Dennis Smith located outside the city limits of Baltimore was purchased and after being remodeled was used as an almshouse from 1812 to 1866.

Views of it are to be seen on several pieces of a teaset. Potter unknown. The illustration above shows a view adopted from *Picture of Baltimore* (1832) on a dark-blue tea pot from the collection of Mr. and Mrs. William E. Cross.

IX

Pennsylvania Hospital owed its existence largely to the public-spirited efforts of Benjamin Franklin who, with the cooperation and financial support of the public and "many pious Persons," founded the hospital in 1751 for the "relief of the sick and miserable." Beginning four years later, the building shown in the illustration was built in sections between 1755 and 1804. When finally completed it was a substantial Colonial structure located at some distance from the city in attractive and spacious grounds

first military patients were wounded Hessians captured at e Battle of Trenton.

For several years Franklin was a member of the hospital's overning Board and later its president. Engraved on the corner-one of the Hospital was the following inscription written by ranklin:

In the year of Christ
MDCCLV,
George the Second happily reigning,
(For he sought the happiness of his people)
Philadelphia flourishing,
(For its inhabitants were public spirited)
This Building,
By the bounty of Government
And of many private persons,
Was piously founded
For the relief of the sick and miserable.
May the God of Mercies
Bless the undertaking.

Views of the hospital, perhaps based on drawings made by aul Svinin in 1811–13, were used in the decoration of platters, owls, and soup tureens. The illustration above shows a dark-lue soup tureen by Ralph Stevenson (1815–1834), with the ircular walk to the entrance. The one on page 42 shows a dark-

blue platter by J & W Ridgway (1814–1830), with several trees of which one may be the sapling from the Treaty Elm discussed below. Both pieces are from the collection of Mr. and Mrs. William E. Cross.

X

PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

One of the trees to be seen in the foreground of the Pennsylvania Hospital is reported to have been a sapling grown from the famous Treaty Elm—a tree that was to Pennsylvania what the Pittsfield Elm was to Massachusetts and the Charter Oak to Connecticut—a great historic tree, for it was under its branches that Penn's Treaty with the Indians was consummated in 1682.

Since this is one of the interesting episodes in American history, it may not be out of order to turn aside for a moment from the atmosphere of man-made hospitals and insane asylums long enough to be reminded that "only God can make a tree," and in this instance a tree well worth remembering.

While the pictorial history of the event as represented by the

nglish potter is largely a product of the imagination, there ould appear to be no doubt that under the shade of an elm tree n the shores of the Delaware River, Penn made a treaty with ie Indian nations "which was not sworn to and never broken."

To Chief Tawenna, Penn presented a parchment with the equest that it be preserved, that their children and their chil-ren's children might be reminded of the Treaty with its promise f friendship. In reply, the Chief presented "all Penn's people ith a belt of peace declaring that all Indians shall be brothers f one father." This Indian Peace Belt is reported to be in the ossession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, having been rought from England in 1857 by a descendant of William enn's. It is described as being 26 inches long by 9 inches wide, oven of 18 strings of beads.

And thus it was that in the shade of the old Treaty Elm on a eautiful autumn day in 1682, there was begun a lasting friend-ip between the Pennsylvania pioneers and their savage neigh-ors which made possible the growth and prosperity of the "City f Brotherly Love."

For more than a century following the Treaty, the old elm was never without the care of those who venerated it as one of the great historic emblems of Pennsylvania. Even during the American Revolution, a guard of British soldiers was ordered to protect it. Unfortunately, no one was able to protect it against the elements when, in March 1810, it was uprooted during a severe storm. Hundreds of people mourning its loss visited the spot where it had stood. Its trunk when measured, was found to be 24 feet in circumference and some of its branches 150 feet in length. Its tree rings when counted showed it to be 283 years old.

Many souvenirs were made from its wood. The most fitting memorial, however, was a descendant of the tree itself, grown from a stripling which until 1841 is said to have flourished on the lawn of the Pennsylvania Hospital—possibly one of those seen on the Ridgway platter.

On a marble monument erected on the site of the old historic elm may be seen the following informative inscription:

Treaty Ground of William Penn and the Indian Nations, 1682; Unbroken Faith; William Penn born A.D. 1644. Died 1718; Placed by the Penn Society A.D. 1827 to mark the site of the Great Elm Tree; Pennsylvania Founded 1681 by Deeds of Peace.

Several views of Penn's Treaty with the Indians may be seen on plates, platters, and vegetable dishes, all in the lighter colors. Thomas Green was the potter (1830–1859) and these are his only contribution to American historical Staffordshireware. The illustration shows a light-blue platter from the collection of the author.

XI

Deaf and Dumb Asylum of Philadelphia when first organized in 1819 was located at 11th and Market Streets. Later a larger and more pretentious building was erected at the corner of Pine and Broad Streets. In the course of time the building was remodeled and taken over by the School of Industrial Art which was associated with the Pennsylvania Museum.

Views of it appear on small-size plates in various colors except ark blue. Potters were Wood and Jackson. The illustration left above) shows a light-blue plate by Enoch Wood (1820–840) from the collection of Mr. and Mrs. William E. Cross. The view is based on a drawing by Charles Burton, engraved 831.

XII

"*White Sulphur Springs Town of Delaware Ohio 22 miles rom the City of Cincinnati*" is the potter's informative descrip- on of the view to be seen on a 10½-inch dinner plate. A hun- red or more years ago the White Sulphur Springs were famous or their medicinal properties. The building as shown in the lustration "was erected in 1834 by Judge Powell as a health re- ort. Financial troubles led to its sale in 1842 to the Methodist Conference; thereafter it was used as a dormitory for young men n the Theological Seminary of Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware. The building now called Eliot Hall has been moved o the campus . . . and is at present used for classrooms and edu- ational offices."[3] It is one of the *very rare* hospital items always n light colors such as light blue, pink, and maroon. The illustra- ion (right above) shows a light-blue dinner plate by J & J Jack- on (1831–*c.* 1843) from the collection of the author. This view, fter an unknown source, appears to be unique.

[3]Larsen, second edition, p. 166, No. 403.

XIII

Marine Hospital Louisville, Ky. Kentucky was represented by three views on Staffordshire: a view of the City of Louisville on a dark-blue platter by an unknown potter; Transylvania University, the first educational institution incorporated west of the Alleghenies in the latter part of the 18th century; and the Marine Hospital in Louisville. This was an imposing structure, situated on the outskirts of the city. It was built by the U. S. Government in 1820 as a place where those engaged in inland navigation could be properly cared for when sick or disabled. It consisted of a central portion with four stories, plus two three-story wings—one on either side.

Views seen on soup tureens and plates are all in dark blue. Potter: Wood & Sons (1820–1846). The illustration shows a plate from the collection of the author.

XIV

Hartford Conn. Deaf and Dumb Asylum has the distinction of being the second asylum for the deaf and dumb in this country, the first having been opened in Virginia in 1812. The asylum in Hartford was founded in 1815, at which time the Rev. Mr. Gallaudet was sent to Europe to make a study of the methods best suited to the care of those thus afflicted. On his return after a year or more of study, he brought with him a deaf and dumb teacher to aid in the care of those in the asylum, which was opened in 1817. In 1821 Congress appropriated funds for the enterprise following which the building shown in the illustration was erected. During Lafayette's sojourn in the United States in 1824–25 he visited the asylum and was greeted by the inmates bearing a banner on which was inscribed "what others express, we feel."

Views of the Asylum are found on platters and water pitchers. ıtters: J & W Ridgway and Ralph Stevenson. The illustration ɔws a dark-blue platter by J & W Ridgway (1814–1830) from e collection of the author.

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CAPTAIN KIDD AND THE LEISLER REBELLION

by LAWRENCE H. LEDER*

AS THE YEAR 1691 opened, William Kidd was the captain of an armed merchantman (a brigantine) and a man of some means, having married the twice-widowed Sarah Cox, thereby gaining a house on Pearl Street and a capital of £1900.[1] Four years later he had the complete support of one of the most powerful and successful men in New York—Robert Livingston—in his ill-fated scheme of privateering against the pirates of the Southern Seas. After another six years had elapsed, William Kidd lost his life on the gallows at Wapping on the Thames in payment for his alleged piracies.[2]

What was the first step in the meteoric career of this individual whose name has come down to us as a synonym for piracy—the beginning of his rise from relatively humble origins to the high station from which he plummeted so rapidly?

The first official notice of Captain Kidd in the records of colonial New York occurs in the Journal of the New York Assembly for May 14, 1691, when the House "*Ordered*, That his Excellency be addressed unto, to order, the Receiver General, to pay to Capt. *William Kidd*, *One Hundred and Fifty* [Fifty] *Pounds*, Current Money of this Province, as a suitable Reward, for the many good Services done to this Province."[3] This reference to "the many good Services done to this Province" is the key to the first development of the ill-fated Captain's career, though what those services were has remained a mystery. Now we have the lock for which that key was fashioned—namely,

* Mr. Leder, an instructor in history at New York University, contributed "Records of the Trials of Jacob Leisler and His Associates" to this *Quarterly*, October 1952, and is the author of "Jacob Leisler and the New York Rebellion of 1689–1691," Ms. at NYHS.

[1] John H. Innes, *New Amsterdam and Its People* (New York: 1902), 251.

[2] See the interesting discussion of "The Politicians and the Pirate" in Richard B. Morris, *Fair Trial* (New York: 1953), 33–68.

[3] *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York* (New York: 1764), I: 13.

RESIDENCE OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM KIDD, 1691

River Road, now corner of Pearl and Hanover Streets

ilt by Govert Loockermans in Dutch times, the house was bought in 1688 by illiam Cox who drowned in 1689 while on a mission for Jacob Leisler. His widow, ah Cox, having inherited the property, then married John Oort, who soon died, l on May 16, 1691—the very day of Leisler's execution—received a license to marry illiam Kidd, who resided in the house for several years. Jacob Leisler owned the oining property toward Wall Street along which the palisades and water gate are wn.

By Edward Lamson Henry, N.A., 1905

Courtesy of the Title Guarantee and Trust Company

etter which explains those services, a letter written by Thomas ewton, Attorney General of New York under Governor enry Sloughter, to Francis Nicholson, then Lieutenant Gover- or of Virginia, and former Lieutenant Governor of New York nder the Dominion of New England.

First, let us briefly brush in the background of the events de- iled in this letter. As a result of the upheavals caused in America England's Glorious Revolution and by the colonists' fears of Jacobite plot to hand geographically strategic New York over the French in Canada, Francis Nicholson abandoned his post Lieutenant Governor and his councillors went into hiding, us permitting an insurrectionary Committee of Safety to set

up an interim government. So it came about that the reins of government in the Province, from June 8, 1689, through March 20, 1691, were in the hands of the merchant Jacob Leisler and his associates. Leisler's government was composed of members of the middle and lower economic classes, and was bitterly opposed by such aristocrats as Robert Livingston, Nicholas Bayard, Peter Schuyler, Frederic Philipse, and others.

The English authorities were tardy in sending over the new royal governor, Henry Sloughter, whose arrival in New York harbor was delayed until March 19, 1691. But the mere news of his appointment had cheered the hearts of the aristocracy, for Livingston knew from his London agent, Jacob Harwood, that Sloughter was his "very good ffriend, as likewise his Secretary Mr. [Matthew] Clarck[son]."[4] Sloughter's friendship with Harwood, with whom Livingston had maintained a steady correspondence, meant that the new governor had been indoctrinated with Livingston's viewpoint and, therefore, with the viewpoint of the aristocracy. It also meant that Jacob Leisler would soon be cast down from his seat of power.

On January 28, 1691, Major Richard Ingoldesby arrived in the colony with two companies of royal troops, after his two ships had been separated from the vessel carrying Governor Sloughter by a storm in the Caribbean. During the next two months of waiting for Sloughter's arrival, the antagonism between the Leislerians and the anti-Leislerians reached a fever pitch, with both sides gathering armed supporters about them. By March 17th, apparently despairing of Sloughter's arrival, Ingoldesby, with the advice of the anti-Leislerians who were to form Sloughter's Council, finally decided to force Leisler to surrender the fort and blockhouse which were the main fortifications on Manhattan Island.

It was at this point that Captain Kidd made his decision. At the crucial moment, he cast his lot with the opponents of Jacob Leisler, and thereby won himself the gratitude of the aristocracy, a reward of £150 from the future anti-Leislerian assembly, and

[4] Jacob Harwood to Robert Livingston, October 19, 1690, *Livingston Mss.*, Box 2, until recently in Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

gan his journey down the road to the gallows. But the follow- letter of Thomas Newton,[5] never before published, can best plain the events of those critical days in March of 1691.

[April 8, 1691]

y it please yo^{r} hono^{r}
'o^{rs} of the 11th March by [John] Perry[6] came to hand on the 1st April, l the other by Boston of the 13th ffebr. on the 9th Instant for both ich I humbly returne my cordiall thanks @ due acknowledgm^{ts} ac- ding to my duty I briefely acquaint yo^{r} hono^{r} with the late transac- ns here. Coll. [Joseph] Dudley[7] @ my selfe arrived here on the 26th Febr, Major Ingoldesby, the Kings Soldiers @ stores having been here eekes before that time, @ was denyed the ffort, every day after our neing hither some affront or other continually was offered to us by slers party while the 9th March when Leisler sent out his precepts @ ler for raiseing of men w^{ch} dayly fflocked into him into the ffort, with nes some with drums @ colours flying, w^{ch} caused the Gent^{m} nomi- ed of their Maj^{tes} councile @ the officers to give notice thereof to Country @ places adjacent, so that by the 14th we had above 300 n from Long Island West Chester @ other places dureing w^{ch} time sler sent for the severall papers declareing to the Country that the nt^{m}, officers @ Soldiers were King James men @ papists, @ that York s a place that they nor none that followed them ought to tread in, the 15th he peremptorily forbad the Major sending his rounds by the rt, @ that night seized four of them, carryed them prisoners into the t @ there detained them all night, @ continually both by night @ alarumed us soe that we were constantly upon our guards, being all about 700: men the Stathouse being the grand guard house, on 16th Day at night he fired at the round from the fort, w^{ch} answered m againe in like manner, but no harme happened on either side, the t day about 10: in the morneing he sent a most scandalous paper

[5] This letter is found in the *Misc. Mss. Blathwayt*, a group of photostatic copies sented to The New-York Historical Society by James B. Wilbur, and taken from original Blathwayt Mss. owned in 1927 by Sabin of London. The Mss. were later ersed and the location of the original is now unknown. Newton's letter also solves ther minor mystery by establishing the authorship of the Leisler trial records, ently published in this *Quarterly*, and substantiates the conclusions previously wn as to why they reached the Lords of Trade through the hands of Francis holson in Virginia. See Lawrence H. Leder, "Records of the Trials of Jacob sler and His Associates," *NYHS Quarterly*, vol. XXXVI, no. 4 (October 1952), –457.

[6] John Perry was employed to carry the mails between Boston and New York. had carried messages between Leisler's opponents in 1689 and 1690, and on one asion found himself forcibly detained by Leisler.– Edmund B. O'Callaghan, tor, *The Documentary History of The State of New York* (Albany: 1849), 62.

[7] Joseph Dudley was the presiding Justice at the trials of Leisler and his aides. the Commission for the Court of Oyer and Terminer, Leder, *op. cit.*, 438.

w^ch he called a declaracon (stuffed full of devious lyeing @ base language composed by [Jacob] Milborne[8]) wherein he declared all of us Enemies to God, their p^rsent Maj^ties @ this province, @ againe peremptorily demanded an answer thereto in two houres time, w^ch was accordingly done, but he had no sooner rec^d it, but he gave his warneing piece to the blockhouse near Smiths fly, w^ch was the only outwork he was po[sse]ssed off and then fired his great @ small shott upon the Towne, killed one man @ a negro, @ wounded severall others, w^ch put us upon a resolucon imediately to dispossess his forces of the blockhouse, and p^rsently demanded the same w^ch was refused, then we caused three ships @ a man of warr brigantine belonging to Cap^tn [William] Kid a privateer to fall downe ag^t the same, but a storme of wind @ raine happened w^ch prevented our sudden fireing, and they finding us then in Earnest surrendered [the blockhouse], w^ch was a great wound to the Tyrant @ descouragem^t to his accomplices, the storm @ night prevented further action at that time, the next day news came that two shipps were seen off of Sandy hooke @ at Anchor there, w^ch being also known to the rebels caused a Cessation of firing that day, @ we sent the above menconed Brigantine [of Captain Kidd] to waite on Coll Dudley @ several of the Councell, to know the truth thereof, @ next day about four in the afternoone, they acc[om]panyed his Excellency [Governor Henry Sloughter] to towne in the man of warrs pinnace the winds not allowing the Arch Angell[9] to come up, w^ch put a stoop @ Issue to the warr—

As soon as his Excellency arrived, he read his Commission, tooke his oath and imediately demanded the ffort, w^ch was 3 times denyed him that night, Leisler in the meane time sending [Joost] Stoll[10] to see if it was the Governo^r and afterwards Milborne @ [Peter] de la Noy[11] who were made prison^rs and the next morning the fort was surrendered (his men failing of him) @ he and about 20: more are prisoners and a Special Commission of Oyer @ terminer granted out for the tryall of them, w^ch began yesterday was 7 night @ all of them p^resented by the Grand Enquest of high treason in Levying of warr ag^t the King, @ felony in murdeing the Kings Subject [Josiah] Browne,[12] @ being arraigned Leisler @ Milborne refused to plead, alledging for plea that they were here Impowered by his Majesty @ untill that power was by his Maj^ty determined would not plead to the Indictm^t that was overruled by the Court upon the argueing thereof by the Attorney Generall [Thomas Newton, the

[8] Jacob Milborne was Leisler's son-in-law, having married Mary Leisler, and also was Leisler's chief aide.

[9] The *Archangel* was the vessel on which Governor Sloughter arrived.

[10] Stoll had been sent by the Leislerians to the English authorities to plead their case in 1689, and had presumably met Henry Sloughter in London.—J. W. Fortescue, editor, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies* . . . (London: 1860–1919), XIII: 127.

[11] Peter Delanoy was one of the members of Leisler's Council.—Charles M. Andrews, editor, *Narratives of the Insurrections, 1675–1690* (New York: 1915), 340 fn.

[12] See the indictment in Leder, *op. cit.*, 449.

hor of this letter] @ Kings Councill [George Farewell],[13] for it is a
xime in Law idem est nil dicere insufficienter dicere, @ he that will
: put himselfe upon the Enquest de bono et malo, shall have the same
dgem^t as if they were found guilty by a verdict of 12: men notwith-
nding all w^ch they continued obstinate @ soe Judgement of death is
red ag^t them @ sentence will passe upon them today or tomorrow
: rest pleaded @ three of them[14] are tryed @ found guilty and we are
on tryall of five more today[15] (w^ch happens this narrative) @ shall by
: next particularize the whole, with Coppyes of all Leislers papers
ring our late residence here.

was come from Boston before the tryall of Coll Paiges Ketch, but
ve certain advice of her being condemned but time given him to pro-
ce his Certificate if any and its believed he really has no such thing.
Excy. will give me Licence to take a Journey to Boston the latter
d of the weeke,[16] @ will not faile to give you a full acc^t of the state of
it Colony.

Molyne of Boston[17] is p^rsented as an aidor abettor @ councello^r [*blot*]
iteing contemptuous words ag^t his p^rsent Maj^ty @ is demanded from
ston hither in order to his tryall @ I have orders to Outlaw him there-
on. I humbly beg pardon for the Erratas you will here meet withall
ing in great hast @ hurry of business, his Ex^cy haveing hono^red me
th the attorney generalls place @ with tender of my most humble
vice to yo^r hono^r am

: York 8^th April 1691

Yo^r hono^rs most humble and most obedient Serv^t
THO: NEWTON

) the Right honourable ffrancis Nicholson Esq^r
eut Governo^r and commander in Chiefe
their Majestyes Territory of Virginia
r. Capt. James Duncan humbly p^rsent

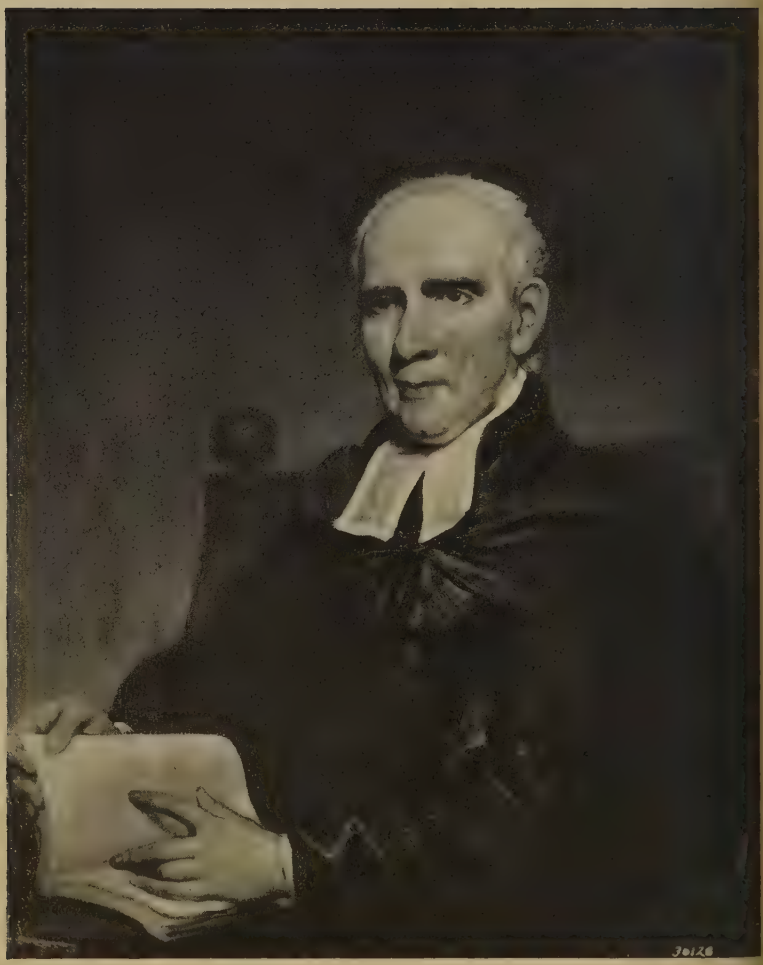
[13] George Farewell's bill for his services as King's Counsel in this trial is to be
ınd in the New York State Library (Albany), New York Colonial Manuscripts,
XXVII: 117–8. Thomas Newton's bill for services as Attorney-General may be
ınd in *ibid.*, 119. Newton apparently had a knack for involving himself in con-
ıversial trials. The year after his successful prosecution of Leisler and Milborne,
ıose execution many regarded as "judicial murder," he participated as King's Coun-
in the Salem witchcraft trials. See Marion L. Starkey, *The Devil in Massachu-
ts* (New York: 1949), 150, 293.

[14] The three men referred to are Abraham Gouverneur, Thomas Williams, and
:rrardus Beekman. See Leder, *op. cit.*, 441–5.

[15] Only two persons were tried on April 8, and these were Peter Delanoy and
ıraham Brazier.—*Ibid.*, 445–6, 453, 456.

[16] This trip by Newton to Boston may be the reason for the hiatus of a week (from
ıril 8 to April 15) which occurred in the trials.—*Ibid.*, 446.

[17] This is probably a reference to Jacob Melyn. On January 24, 1689–90 Jacob
:isler wrote a letter to Melyn in which Melyn's presence in Boston is implied. On
:cember 11, 1690, Melyn wrote to Leisler from Boston in a very friendly fashion.—
'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, 62, 316.



THE REVEREND WILLIAM COCHRAN (1757–1833)
Portrait by John Trumbull, 1821 (Photo by FARL)

Owned by Columbia University

"M[r] Trumbull presents his Respects to the President & Trustees of Columbia College, & begs them to accept for the Library, a Portrait which, (during his late visit here) He painted of Doctor Cochrane, formerly one of the professors.
"Park place 8[th] Sept[r] 1821." *(MS. letter in College Papers, Columbia.)*

THE MEMOIRS OF WILLIAM COCHRAN

SOMETIME PROFESSOR IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE, NEW YORK AND IN KING'S COLLEGE, WINDSOR, NOVA SCOTIA

Edited by MILTON HALSEY THOMAS

'ARLY in the 1820's, Dr. David Hosack, President of The New-York Historical Society, who was always thinking of eresting things to do, decided to write a history of Columbia llege. The idea may have originated in talks with his old pro- sor, William Cochran, during the latter's visit to New York in 21; it is almost certain that the history was never written, and certain that such a book was never published. This is a matter may regret sincerely, since Dr. Hosack had been a student at lumbia (1786–1788) just after its revival following the Revo- ion, had been a member of its arts and medical faculties from 95 to 1811, and would have been able to consult New Yorkers ose recollections went back to its earliest days as King's Col- e. In addition, he was a Presbyterian, and would have con- cted the enterprise with detachment.

'n the summer of 1939 the present writer was one of the aca- nic delegates sent to represent Columbia University at the 0th Anniversary Celebration of King's College at Halifax, va Scotia. At that time the ties between the two institutions, ich had been founded with the same name, by royal charters, l under the fostering eye of the Society for the Propagation the Gospel in Foreign Parts, were somewhat vague. Feeling t the Sesquicentennial at Halifax was an appropriate occasion t only to renew its friendship, but also to find out exactly what se early ties had been, Columbia sent two delegates to that ebration: the late Reverend Raymond Collyer Knox, S.T.D., aplain of the University and spokesman of its religious inter- s, and the writer, who was bidden to recover the connecting ks from Halifax archives.

A wealth of interesting material was turned up at that time,

but the most important item by far was the unpublished autobiography of Dr. William Cochran, written in 1822–23 for Dr. Hosack's proposed history, and revised in 1827. Cochran, an irascible young Irish schoolteacher in search of a settled position, had stumbled right into the post-Revolutionary revival of Columbia College, and had been hired to take its first students into his private school until the college could be made ready for them. Moreover, possessing a good foreign degree, and being entirely free of any English connections, he was an obvious candidate for the first faculty, to which he was appointed, along with a Frenchman, a reconstructed New York loyalist, and two Germans. In 1788, becoming uneasy and dissatisfied in the land of the free, he resigned and sailed for Nova Scotia, where he was present at the birth of King's College and became president, then vice-president and professor.

*No trace of Cochran's original manuscript (nor, it should be added, of any other material assembled for a Columbia history) has been found among the papers of Dr. Hosack at The New-York Historical Society. The manuscript in the Legislative Library, Government House, Halifax, from which our text is derived, is evidently the retained copy. It is accompanied by copies of the covering letter to Dr. Hosack and of several earlier letters to that gentleman. The manuscript is not in Cochran's handwriting. It was apparently copied by a member of his family, and perhaps under some pressure of time, for the copyist used all possible contractions and abbreviations. To avoid marring these pages with a hopeless jungle of square brackets, the abbreviations (*e.g., *&, w^{ch}, c^{d}, W^{m}, y^{e}, etc.) have been expanded for printing as a typesetter of Cochran's time would have done automatically; no other changes have been made in the text. Inquiries in Nova Scotia yielded no further literary remains of Dr. Cochran, and it is probable that the manuscripts found in the Legislative Library came to that repository in connection with the reading of the "Autobiography of Revd. Wm. Cochran" by his son, Reverend James Cuppaidge Cochran, D.D., before the Nova Scotia His-*

COLUMBIA COLLEGE IN COCHRAN'S TIME

Drawn by Alexander Anderson, M.D. (Columbia 1796)
Engraved by Cornelius Tiebout

From the *New-York Magazine; or, Literary Repository*, May 1790

rical Society, 3 October 1878. Permission to publish this mate-l was very kindly given by Miss Annie Donahoe, librarian of e Society.

THE MEMOIRS

WILLIAM COCHRAN, D.D., sometime Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College, was orn near Omagh in County Tyrone, Ireland about the year 757. His father Andrew Cochrane was a respectable farmer; id was looked up to by all of his own class for intelligence and robity so that they resorted to him not only to draw leases, onds, and such like papers, but often to be the arbiter in their sputes with one another; and he generally went by the name of Honest Andrew Cochrane. This person had three sons: Andrew, terwards Rector of Buncrana in the North of Ireland[1]; Wil-

[1] Andrew Cochrane the younger entered Trinity College Dublin as sizar, 28 May 71, aged 17, and took the B.A. degree at summer commencement, 1776. G. D. irtchaell and T. U. Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses* (London, 1924), 160. Buncrana is a mall hamlet on Lough Swilly, some twenty miles northwest of Londonderry.

liam the subject of this Memoir; James who died unmarried; Mary afterwards married to the Reverend G[eorge] W[hite], the first Minister of the Episcopal Church at Brooklyn, Long Island[2]; and Margaret who died an infant.

William as well as his elder brother had the first part of his classical education under his maternal uncle the Reverend Thomas Thornton[3]: This gentleman had been brought up at Edinburgh for the Ministry among the Presbyterians; and had preached for some time as a Probationer; but had afterwards quitted that party for some disgust to their tenets and was now deriving the chief part of his support by teaching a private grammar school in the county: He was a man of much learning and good taste, but of a [temp]er so easy and so lenient in discipline that his boys did nearly as they [please]d: but in the case of his nephew William this laxity was somewhat counteracted by his own avidity for knowledge: He loved play, indeed, but he loved books too, and eagerly read almost every thing that fell in his way, which he was capable of understanding especially English poetry.

From this school he was entered of Trinity College Dublin in the year 1776 and passed his examination on that occasion with credit, having been rated second in merit of those examined. In

[2] The hurried transcriber of the Cochran Ms. gave only the initials of the Reverend George Wright, a native of Ireland, who gathered an Episcopalian congregation in Brooklyn in the spring of 1784 and continued to officiate until 1789, when he went to Jamaica and then to Halifax. He was appointed S.P.G. missionary to the Germans in Halifax in succession to the Reverend Bernard Michael Houseal [Hausihl] (sometime *ex officio* governor of King's College, New York, as minister of the ancient Lutheran Church who later obtained Church of England ordination), served from 1799 to 1818, and died in Halifax, 1 Aug. 1819. During Mr. Wright's incumbency, St. George's Round Church, Halifax, was erected for his congregation in 1800–1801. A New York newspaper of 21 Nov. 1786, carried this notice: "Columbia College Grammar School. Mr. Cochran begs leave to inform the public, that he is now assisted by the Rev. Mr. George Wright, late of Trinity College, Dublin." Wright entered Trinity College Dublin as sizar, 27 May 1777, aged 18, son of William, *Agricola*, born in Co. Tyrone; B.A. 1782. *Alumni Dublinenses* (1924), 897; see also [F. S. Fish], *St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn* . . . (Brooklyn, 1845), 20–22, and C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.* (London, 1901), 865. Rev. George Wright and Mary Cochran were married in Trinity Parish, New York, 12 September 1787.

[3] This name can also be read as "Thomson"; neither name can be found in the published list of University of Edinburgh graduates for this period.

College course he was by no means a hard or laborious stu-
t, being still too fond of desultory reading and what was still
rse, wasting much time in pleasant but unprofitable conversa-
n with the young men who had been his Schoolfellows, and
ers with whom he formed acquaintance but his moral con-
t was regular, and gained him the good opinion of his tutor
l of the officers of the College annually appointed for enforc-
discipline: He was naturally timid, and had so low a concep-
n of his own capacity that he could not believe he possessed
talent whatever; altho his companions frequently resorted to
n to help them in their themes or declamations, and were glad
it next him at the quarterly examination that they might have
nance of being prompted when at a loss. Notwithstanding this,
en, being of two years standing, he was at liberty by the
tutes to become a competitor for a Scholarship on the founda-
n, such was still his diffidence; and so great his apprehension
a repulse that when the day of trial approached, he feigned
sons which induced his tutor to give him leave of absence until
as passed. But when the same occasion recurred in the follow-
year, finding that he must either make the attempt or dis-
ige his friends he sat down more seriously to review the classi-
books he had formerly read, that, if he missed the honour
might not quite disgrace himself. The emolument of a Scholar-
p is inconsiderable; but the credit of obtaining one is not so,
well on account of the superiority in literary attainments
ich it implies, as because the Scholars have authority over
er students, and form besides a constituent part of the Cor-
ration; and they enjoy also the privilege in conjunction with
fellows of electing members to represent the University in
rliament. The manner of chusing them is this: on the appointed
all the Candidates are examined in the Hall by the Provost
l the senior Fellows, each Examiner trying them in a different
hor: The Examiner has three marks for the degrees of merit
the candidate, *best*, *middling*, and *worst:* When the examina-
n is done they compare these marks, and those who have most

of the higher degrees are appointed to the vacant Scholarships: From the eight examined William Cochran had 7. *best* and 1. *middle* mark which would have secured him a Scholarship if only four had been vacant whereas there were fifteen. This success gave him somewhat better opinion of himself and he was still more encouraged by obtaining the premium in his division at the next quarterly examination.[4]

He took his Bachelor's degree in 1780; and the next year upon his College Tutor's recommendation was taken as Private Tutor into the family of Ross Mahon[5] Esq[re] of Castlegar, County Galway, where besides the care of some younger brothers he assisted in his College studies Ross Mahon the younger,[6] now (1822) a Baronet and member of the Imperial Parliament. Mr. Mahon had married Lady Anne Browne, sister to the Earl of Altamont and aunt to the 1[st] Marquis of Sligo. In this amiable family William Cochran spent two very happy years, and the high and polished company he met there and in the neighborhood around contributed not a little to his improvement especially in his knowledge of the world.

At this time a dissolution of the Irish Parliament was expected; and an application thro' Lord Altamont was made to William Cochran for his vote in favour of Mr. Richard Hutchinson the Provosts son, now Earl of Donoughmore[7]; but having strong and

[4] William Cochrane was admitted sizar of Trinity College Dublin, 5 June 1776, aged 18. He is listed as son of Andrew, *Agricola*, and the place of his birth is given as Co. Fermanagh, which adjoins Co. Tyrone. He was made Scholar in 1779 and was graduated B.A. at the spring commencement, 1780. *Alumni Dublinenses* (1924), 160. A letter from Miss Mary Cochrane to Nicholas Murray Butler, [London], 15 Sept. 1916, explains the change of spelling of his surname: ". . . My greatgrandfather a fiery graduate of T.C. Dublin with his head full of Greek and Latin—he frequently took his students through the works of some of the poets and essayists of Rome and Greece with his book closed, but unerringly detecting the omission of a word or the substitution of another—full also of Irish Nationalism. His political opinions and cantankerous temper took him to New York and as a mark of his displeasure with the Government and his family he shed the last letter of his name on the voyage, so you will find him William Cochran. He was a cousin of Admiral Cochrane, tenth Earl of Dundonald. . . ."

[5] (1725–1788), B.A. Trinity College Dublin 1746.

[6] (1763–1835) Created Baronet 14 Apr. 1819.

[7] Richard Hely-Hutchinson (1756–1825) became Viscount Donoughmore in 1797; he was the son of the Right Honourable John Hely-Hutchinson (1724–1794), eminent

even romantic notions of civil liberty and independence, he rejected all attempts to influence him with a degree of disdain; and wrote a letter to Christopher Temple Emmet his class fellow who had been called to the Bar, and who gave promise of being an ornament to his country, offering him the *only one* vote he had or could influence if he chose to become a candidate. That fine young man, the elder Brother of the gentleman since so well known here and who died before the unhappy troubles of his country and his family came on,[8] made a suitable reply to the compliment; but from the state of the canvas at that time he thought the attempt would be fruitless.

Such incidents though trifling in themselves will serve better to let the reader into the character of the subject of our memoir than any formal and laboured display of it by his biographer.

Irish lawyer and statesman, who was made Provost of Trinity College Dublin in 1774.

[8] The author's syntax is somewhat obscure here, but the Emmets are easily identified. The three brothers were the sons of Robert Emmet, M.D., of Dublin, all brilliant men and all violently devoted to the Irish Nationalist cause.

Christopher Temple Emmet, who died prior to the rebellions in Ireland, became Scholar of Trinity College Dublin in 1778, and received his B.A. with Cochran in 1780; he was called to the Irish bar in 1781 and advanced to the rank of King's Counsel in 1787. He died the following year.

Thomas Addis Emmet (1764–1827) was graduated B.A. at Dublin in 1783 and M.D. at Edinburgh in 1784. Upon the death of his brother Temple he abandoned medicine to follow in his footsteps in the law; in late 1788 he obtained the LL.B. at Dublin and two years later was called to the bar, where his success was immediate. His activities in the Society of United Irishmen caused his arrest and imprisonment in 1798. Released, but compelled to leave the empire, he resided on the Continent until 1804, when he came to America. Joining the New York bar, he quickly attained leadership and prosperity. In 1812–13 he was Attorney General of New York state, and in 1824 Columbia made him LL.D. A tall granite shaft on Broadway marks the place of his burial in St. Paul's Churchyard. He was the progenitor of a talented American family whose members have been distinguished from that day to this, and include Dr. John Patten Emmet, chemist, of the University of Virginia, Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet (1828–1919), gynecologist and autograph collector, Ellen Emmet Rand and Lydia Field Emmet, artists, William LeRoy Emmet, electrical engineer, and Robert Emmet Sherwood, playwright.

Most famous of the Emmet brothers was Robert, born in Dublin in 1778, and hanged in that city, 20 September 1803. Forced to withdraw from Trinity College because of his sympathy with the United Irishmen cause, he spent the next several years planning an insurrection to secure Irish independence. The uprising took place 23 July 1803, but was quickly dispersed. Emmet escaped to the Wicklow Mountains, and might have fled successfully to France but for his desire to see his fiancée Sarah Curran once again. Thomas Moore, a fellow-student, has left a famous poetical record of Emmet's romantic end.

But we are now come to a period (1782) calculated to produce excitement, in such an ardent mind as William Cochran's, beyond any in his life—indeed, beyond most in history: The British Colonies in America had been sustaining for seven years past a severe war from the Mother Country at first to resist taxation by the British Parliament, but latterly for independence. During the struggle many good and moderate men in England itself condemned the ministry and justified the resistance of the Colonies: But in Ireland 9/10 of the population entertained these sentiments: The Irish had similar grievances to complain of—and their Parliament supported by 80,000 volunteers took this opportunity effectually to declare their independence of the British Legislature: Amidst this triumph, as we may say, of liberty, and when able men's minds were in a ferment, such a temper as William Cochran's must be supposed to feel its full share. The constitutions of the new American Republics had been published in Dublin; and from these as well as all he had read and heard during the war, he conceived these rising states would be the abode of the greatest virtues and happiness that would be found on earth; and that he might have his share of these resolved to cross the Atlantic and become an American citizen: Accordingly, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, he quitted his native country, which with all its corruptions, he very much loved, and landed at New Castle in Delaware in November 1783.

Thus he found himself upon an immense continent, in all which he had not friend to help him nor one introduction to procure any for though he might have brought many letters from respectable persons in Ireland it was one of his extravagant notions of independence that he would ask for none—being resolved if he had any success that he should owe it to himself alone. Yet he felt in no way discouraged. He thought young states like young women, rather favourable to adventurers and that at all events it must be strange if a person of good education could not somehow make himself worth the bread he should eat. But when he came to determine what profession he should

ttempt he found his choice very limited: Law or Medicine equired a preparation which his finances did not admit; therefore the only immediate resource appeared to be some department in the education of youth: Therefore as soon as he came o Philadelphia and learned that the place of Chief Assistant in he Grammar School connected with the University was vacant ne applied for it to Dr. Ewing the Provost.[9] He was examined by hat gentleman in presence of the Professors and having been much approved by them was immediately appointed to the situation with a salary of £150 a year which he deemed an ample competence for desires so moderate as his: But he was not so well satisfied with the state in which he found the school: There were a hundred boys or more without method order discipline or respect for their teachers and the elder ones disposed even to resist them. Now tho a devoted admirer of liberty, he thought these young gentlemen were entering upon the practice of it a little too soon; and remembering that the heroes of Greece and Rome the greatest lovers of liberty that ever were had all been under the rod when young, he applied his new gotten sceptre so heartily to the backs of these little American heroes, that though very much amazed at first they soon showed great improvement both in learning and manners; and William Cochran was complimented on the change by Professor Gamble[10] who had a nominal superintendence of the school. But William Cochran thinking himself qualified for something better and more to his taste than whipping refractory boys into obedience, began to turn his attention to New York of which he had heard very favorable accounts from British officers of his acquaintance during the revolutionary war; and where he knew that their literary institutions interrupted by that War, had not yet been set in order. Accordingly he visited this city in the ensuing Christmas

[9] The Reverend John Ewing, D.D. (Edin.), was graduated from the College of New Jersey, then at Newark, in 1754, and after twenty years' service as minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, was made provost when the College of Philadelphia became the University of Pennsylvania in 1779.

[10] Archibald Gamble (College of Philadelphia 1771) was at this time professor of oratory and the English language at the University of Pennsylvania.

vacation arriving in the first week of January 1784; and he soon decided to fix his permanent residence there.

His first step was to open a grammar School on his own account for a limited number of pupils which was speedily filled up by the children of the first people of the place; and so many were still pressing to be received that he was induced to employ assistants in order that they might be admitted. With these he had great trouble, being incompetent to their station and soon discovered by the boys to be so, although they were the best he could obtain.

Meanwhile the Legislature passed an act for altering the name of King's College to Columbia raising it to be a university, and naming a great number of persons as Regents thereof:[11] These again appointed a committee to take such steps for restoring the Seminary as might be necessary before the final arrangements could be made: This Committee of which Mr. Duane[12] seemed to be the leading member finding that several young gentlemen of good families were about to be sent out of the state for their education and desirous to have them entered immediately of Columbia College: applied to Mr. Cochran to know whether he would undertake the care of them *ad interim* until the Seminary could be put into operation: To this he most readily as-

[11] The act creating the University of the State of New York, of which Columbia College was made a part, was passed by the Legislature, then sitting in New York City, 1 May 1784. The governor, lieutenant governor, and four other State officials, the mayors of New York and Albany and the president and professors of the college were made Regents of the University, *ex officio;* the board also included two men each from New York City and eleven counties of the State. On 26 November 1784 the board was again increased in size by the addition of a third man from each county and several New York City clergymen. The unwieldiness of the board and the difficulty of assembling the members in a day of slow and arduous transportation, together with the remonstrances of Columbia College, which had languished under government by the Regents, led to a new legislative act on 13 April 1787, sponsored by Ezra L'Hommedieu and Alexander Hamilton, when Columbia College resumed its independent corporate existence under a revival of its royal charter. The Columbia board of trustees was limited to twenty-four members, with the power of filling vacancies, and has continued to the present day.

[12] James Duane, LL.D. (Edin.), was mayor of New York at this time. He had been elected a governor of King's College in 1762, was an *ex officio* Regent of the University as mayor, and his name heads the list of Columbia trustees named in the act of 1787; he was chairman of the board from 1787 to 1795.

ented; and the first student we believe entered under him was Dewitt Clinton the present Governor of the State:[13] This was in the summer or autumn of 1784.[14] In the following winter when the Regents met one of the first things proposed to them was the election of William Cochran to be Professor of Greek and Latin in Columbia College: It was opposed by His Excellency Governor [George] Clinton[15] who wished those Professorships to be divided; and that one should be given to Dr. Khun and the other to Mr. Gross,[16] two clergymen natives of Germany who were Ministers of Congregations in New York, and of course

[13] The name of De Witt Clinton (1769–1828), statesman and savant, stands first in the Matriculation Book of Columbia College. He was admitted as a junior and was graduated with the first Columbia class (1786), though he had to wait until 1788 for his diploma, since no degrees were conferred by Columbia under the Regents. He was a nephew of Governor George Clinton, State assemblyman and senator, United States senator, mayor of New York, governor of the State for eight years, and president of The New-York Historical Society, but his greatest service was in the conception and construction of the Erie Canal, opened in 1825. His thoughtful, quizzical visage adorns every package of cigarets sold in this country.

[14] At the meeting of the Regents of the University of the State of New York on 15 May 1784, it was resolved "that a Grammar School be instituted in Columbia College, and that Mr. William Cochran be appointed the Master thereof for the Education of Youth—and that he be permitted to remove his present School thither; and that he be also a Temporary Instructor, in the Latin and Greek Languages, of the Students admitted into the said College. . . ."

[15] George Clinton (1739–1812), Revolutionary general, politician, Governor of the State of New York seven times, bitter opponent of the Federal Constitution, and vice-president of the United States under Jefferson and Madison, was an *ex officio* governor of King's College and afterward Chancellor of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York.

[16] The Reverend John Christopher Kunze (1744–1807), D.D. (Pennsylvania), a distinguished Hebrew and Arabic scholar educated at Leipzig, was a leading clergyman in the American Lutheran church when called from Philadelphia to New York in 1784; he held the chair of Oriental languages at Columbia from 1784 to 1787 and from 1792 to 1799.

The Reverend John Daniel Gros (1737–1812), D.D. (Columbia), also German-born, and educated at Marburg and Heidelberg, had been a clergyman on the New York frontier and a military chaplain in the Revolution. He was professor of German (1784–1785), geography (1784–1785), and moral philosophy (1787–1795) at Columbia, and author of *Natural Principles of Rectitude* (New York, 1795), a famous textbook in its day. He became wealthy by buying soldiers' land warrants, and spent his last years on his farm near Fort Plain, N.Y.

At the Regents' meeting, 21 December 1784, Gros was nominated for the professorship of Latin, Kunze for the professorship of Greek, and Cochran was nominated for both chairs as well as that of mathematics. At the meeting on the 23d, Gros and Kunze (both members of the board), being candidates, withdrew. Ballots were taken separately for the professorships of Latin and of Greek, and Cochran was elected and appointed to both chairs.

better known to His Excellency. But the majority was for Mr. Cochran and at the head of that majority was the late General Hamilton,[17] who declared he had never spoken with Mr. Cochran in his life and that he knew nothing of him except from the testimonials of his College and the memorials and their papers which he (William Cochran) had sent in to that Board from which he conceived him to be a person well qualified for such a situation: This was not the only compliment paid by that great man to William Cochran's manner of writing. A friend of the person who writes this heard him say, long after, that "if William Cochran had only to answer an invitation to dinner he would do it in a peculiarly graceful manner of his own." With every necessary abatement to an expression evidently hyperbolical this must be considered high praise from so good a judge: Mr. Cochran tho quite ignorant of these differences of opinion, until after his election was notified, had always to regret that he never

[17] Alexander Hamilton (1757–1804), LL.D. (Dartmouth, Princeton, Harvard, and Brown), aide-de-camp to General Washington, member of the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention, first secretary of the U. S. Treasury, was matriculated at King's College, New York, in 1774, and by the spring of 1776 had become a captain of New York artillery. Columbia made him an M.A. in 1788. He was one of the original Regents of the University of the State, 1784–1787, and an active trustee of Columbia from 1787 until his death.

In a letter to Dr. Hosack from Windsor, 27 May 1824, Cochran amended his memoir as follows: "When I complied with your desire in setting down some particulars of my unimportant life, I thought I had given you twice more than it would be conformable to your plan to insert in the history of your College, but I trusted you would cut it down to its proper size and requested you to do so. If I ever should find leisure or health to add (and I find writing agrees badly with palpitations) I thought so little of what I scribbled to you that I neither know what it was nor where I stopped. Only one sentence I remember with regret, and request you to scratch it out: the compliment said to be paid by General Hamilton. It was poor James Cochran who studied under Hamilton, that used the expression to my son Andrew when he met him accidentally on board of one of your steam boats. The partiality of an old pupil probably made James slip in a few words of his own but if he ever did hear them from General Hamilton they could only be considered as an exaggerated way of saying he liked my manner of writing. However, it should not stand on record; and the more as I cannot pay back in kind. For though Hamilton was one of your first men for talent, I never thought his style pleasing; it labours too much." James Cochran of Albany (1769–1848), student of William Cochran at Columbia (A.B. 1788) and law student under Alexander Hamilton, became a lawyer in New York City and later in Oswego, N.Y. He was a Regent of the University 1796–1820, Representative in Congress 1797–1799, State senator 1814–1817, postmaster of Oswego 1841–1845, and editor of the Oswego *Democratic Gazette*.

received any share of Governor Clinton's protection or countenance during the time that he resided at New York—but he was ever careful to show that gentleman the respect due to his high station.

Thus settled as he conceived for life, he applied himself with diligence to the duties of his office; and there are many yet alive who remember with pleasure the exquisite feeling with which he was wont to enlarge on the beauties of the Greek and Roman classics and the gentlemanly urbanity with which he treated the young persons committed to his care.

A life like his cannot be supposed to be diversified with many important incidents. The most interesting to his own happiness was his being united in matrimony, at Philadelphia on 30th September 1785 to Miss Rebecca Cuppaidge a lady to whom he had been attached in Ireland. By her he had two children whilst in this country (New York), William and Rebecca who both died young.

But the time was now arrived when Columbia College was to lose the services of this gentleman at the very period when they might be expected to be most valuable. Great changes had taken place in Mr. Cochran's opinions of the people and government to which he had so eagerly attached himself: On his very arrival he was surprized to find that the first characters to whom he had access thought much more lowly of their countrymen than he did. He observed a smile upon their lips at his honest credulity when he said he had considered them as Saints and Heroes contending for the noblest objects; each thinking only of his country and forgetful of himself.

He found that they had not only suspected but accused each other of selfishness, peculation, corruption, cowardice; and that the different parties [contended] that their opponents were quite unworthy of confidence.

With sorrow he found that the character of the human race remained the same even in this new regenerated hemisphere.

Seditione—

But nothing seemed to him so inconsistent and revolting as to read in our declaration of independence and declaration of rights, that "All men are born free and independent" and yet see numbers of men set up to auction in our streets;[18] and sold exactly like horses or oxen: He wrote some essays on this subject which he had printed in the New York newspapers; and these were answered only in the way of scoff and ridicule by the republican patriots of that city: He had expected that the least hint from the collected wisdom of the Union in the general congress would be received as law by every State: But he found that the several States set at nought the recommendations of those Amphytryons, and even enacted laws directly contrary to the solemn treaties of the general and supreme government. The citizens again of the individual states seemed to think the independence they had gained to be an independence of the old maxims about *meum* and *tuum*.

Mr. Cochran had rented a pleasant rural situation, as it then was—near the New York Hospital,[19] in which there were many valuable fruit trees and when the products of these were fit for use the public took them before his face, as their own: If questioned, they said it was hard that those who had fought for liberty, should not have liberty to enjoy the fruits of it; The car-men also of the neighborhood took down his fences and turned in his horses and pigs; and when he appealed to the laws the Mayor of the city, Duane, took occasion to remonstrate with him as a friend against the course he was taking; and when he detailed the annoyances and injuries he suffered, and asked what in such a case, he ought to do, "I will tell you," said the Mayor, "what you must do, you must submit, or you will have them

[18] Chattel slavery did not disappear completely from New York State until 4 July 1827.

[19] The New York City Directory of 1786 gives Cochran's address as "Ranelagh." On the Montresor map, this area appears just south of the New York Hospital grounds on Broadway. Worth and Duane Streets later bounded the property of the hospital, founded by royal charter in 1771 and finally opened in 1791 after delays occasioned by a fire (1775) and the use of the building as a military barracks during the war.

Jed Morse from Professor Cochran

THE

STATUTES

OF

COLUMBIA COLLEGE,

IN

NEW-YORK.

NEW-YORK:
Printed by SAMUEL LOUDON,
PRINTER *to the* STATE.
M,DCC,LXXXV.

Columbia Col
N° Students 1787 37
Annual Income of funds £1000
Building containing 20 large rooms with two Studies or Bed Rooms to each together with a hall & Library
Bed Rooms to each
containing
Whole building about 150 feet long & about 27 feet wide (uncertain) Two Ends stand N W & S E on the eastern bank of Hudsons River
No Library nor Museum
300 Guineas worth of the best kind of Philosophical Instruments
Salary of each of the Professors 200 Year York Currency & the profits of the Class £2 year from each Student

FIRST PRINTED EDITION OF THE COLUMBIA STATUTES

The work of a committee (John Daniel Gros, John Christopher Kunze, Benjamin Moore, John Rodgers, and William Cochran) appointed by the Regents of the University of the State of New York, 30 June 1785 "to revise the Laws of Columbia College." The committee reported 11 July 1785, "the Laws and amendments proposed, being fully considered, [were] agreed to," and a thousand copies were ordered to be printed.

From a copy in the Columbiana Collection, Columbia University, presented by Cochran to Jedidiah Morse, and with annotations (transcribed below) by the latter for his *American Universal Geography*, first published in Elizabeth Town, N. J., in 1789.

N° Students Columbia Col 1787 37

Annual Income of funds £1000

Building contains 20 large rooms with two Studies or Bed Rooms to each together with a hall & Library rooms Whole building about 150 feet long & about 27 feet wide (uncertain) Two Ends stand N W & S E on the eastern bank of Hudsons River

No Library (destroyed in the War) nor Museum

300 Guineas worth of the best kind of Philosophical Instruments

Salary of each of the Professors 200 [a] Year Y[ork] Curency & the profits of the Class £2 [a] year from each Student

next come round your house and break your windows, as they did mine the other night." Mr. Cochran thought if this was liberty, that it was liberty all on one side: He had been in the habit of thinking that the chief use of laws and government was that every man might enjoy his own in peace.

But he was also disappointed in finding education at so low ebb; and the conductors of it so little respected: In his own country as also in England it was quite common to see a person transferred at once from the professor's chair to a seat in the House of Lords* on the Bishop's Bench, but in the Unites States such men seemed to rank below those who could boast no higher or more liberal knowledge than book-keeping by double entry. Indeed he was told (and it was not very flattering to the pride of learning) that servant girls were fond of getting places near the colleges because it gave them a fine chance for husbands among the Tutors.

But of all Departments of education, classical learning, that which was committed to Mr. Cochran, was at that time lowest in the estimation of the Public: Some argued seriously against it as altogether useless; whilst others more petulantly scoffed at it, even in the public papers, as a prejudice derived from our effete and doating mother country or one of her trammels which still remained to be broken: During the revolutionary War there was little opportunity for *our* young men to acquire classical or any other learning and people too often affect to despise advantages which they do not possess. This was natural enough in those persons who strove to depretiate classical learning; yet it could not but be painful to Mr. Cochran who not only admired the writers of Greece and Rome, for the powers of imagination, but considered them as rich storehouses of the noblest thoughts that could be infused into the breasts of our youth and moreover highly valuable to the world at large as sealed and unalterable standards of taste amidst the fluctuations of modern languages.

* [Author's note:] Since Mr. Cochran quitted Dublin, no less than six of the Teachers in that University have been so raised.

It must be allowed that no period could give a more unfavorable view either of *our* government, or our learning and taste, than that of Mr. Cochran's residence amongst *us* from 1783 to 1788. When he revisited the United States after a very long interval he expressed great satisfaction at witnessing *our* improvement in both respects.

But at the time of which we now treat a third motive for quiting this country occurred, which added to the others proved decisive, i.e. his inclination to enter into Holy orders. He had been originally designed for the Church, and from infancy had been of a religious cast: But about the time of his finishing his studies at the University some doubts began to arise in his mind upon the subject of Divine revelation: He never had read any of the professed infidel writers; and indeed studiously avoided them; But in ranging through the modern works of literature by Hume, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Raynal and Gibbon he found but too many *insinuations*, or more than such against Christianity; and when to these were added some difficulties which occurred to his own mind but which he afterwards found had often been started by others, he declined entering into a profession concerning the grounds of which he was not fully and solidly convinced: Dr. Skelton,[20] one of the most eminent divines of Ireland, having learned this circumstance from a common friend said he should like to be acquainted with a young man who, though in error, acted so honest a part.

The first step towards a change of these unfortunate opinions Mr. Cochran owed to that excellent man Dr. William Samuel Johnson,[21] his warm friend, then President of Columbia College.

[20] Philip Skelton (1707–1787) is called in the *Dictionary of National Biography* "perhaps the most diligent and the most charitable divine which the church of Ireland produced before its disestablishment. . . ." His whole life, after graduation from Trinity College Dublin in 1728 was spent in theological writing and ministering to the poor.

[21] William Samuel Johnson (1727–1819), D.C.L. (Oxon.), LL.D. (Yale), was president of Columbia from 1787 to 1801. Son of the first president of King's College, the Reverend Samuel Johnson, D.D. (Oxon.), he was educated at Yale (B.A. 1744), became a member of the Connecticut bar and the Governor's Council, and spent the years 1767 to 1771 in London on a legal mission for that colony. Unable conscien-

Though from respect to other people's opinions, and diffidence in his own, Mr. Cochran never brought forward his doubts in any offensive manner, yet Dr. Johnson had penetration sufficient to discover them. He one day asked Mr. Cochran if he ever had read Lord President Forbes's "*letters on incredulity*."[22] to which he replied that he had a peculiar aversion to controversy, and that he thought it the fairest way to make up one's opinions from the unbiased reflections of one's own mind, without being warped by the artful pleadings of the advocates on either side. "Well but do read this little book *to oblige me;* You will at least be pleased with the easy and gentlemanly style in which it is written." He did as that good and gentle Christian requested, and the book made such an impression on his mind that he was convinced there were as great difficulties and as hard to be answered on the side of Incredulity, as those on the other side. Dr. Conybeare's "*defence of revealed religion*"[23] afterwards cleared away most of his doubts; and last of all *Butler's Analogy*[24] showed by the strictest and most logical *demonstration* that every objection which occurred to him against Christianity lay equally against natural religion; and as he never could look upon Atheism without horror, he thenceforth became a penitent believer in Jesus Christ.

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tiously to join a war against England, he lived in retirement in Stratford, Conn., until the end of the Revolution. He later served in the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention; in the latter body, he and Gouverneur Morris (King's 1768) were the leading members of the committee on style responsible for the wording and arrangement of that document. Johnson was elected from Connecticut to serve in the first U. S. Senate, and held this post along with the Columbia presidency until the Federal Government was removed from New York to Philadelphia.

[22] *Reflections on the Sources of Incredulity with respect to Religion* was a posthumously published work of the Right Honourable Duncan Forbes (1685–1747), politician, soldier, and sometime lord president of the Court of Session in Scotland.

[23] John Conybeare (1692–1755), D.D. (Oxon.), who became Bishop of Bristol late in life, published *A Defence of Reveal'd Religion Against the Exceptions of a Late Writer, in His Book, intituled, "Christianity as Old as the Creation, &C."* in 1732; the writer referred to was Matthew Tindal (1657?–1733), whose book, published in 1730, caused considerable controversy and elicited a number of replies.

[24] Joseph Butler (1692–1752), successively Bishop of Bristol and of Durham, published *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Course and Constitution of Nature* in 1736. It was an exceedingly important book in its day, by far the most significant of those mentioned by Cochran. A bold defence against the deistical writings of the time, it has perhaps one reader today for every hundred who still read Locke.

He was solicited to take orders from the Bishop of New York[25] —to which he had only this objection that persons so ordained were excluded by act of Parliament from ever holding any benefice in the Church of England or Ireland, from the possibility of which he did not like to be cut off. He therefore resolved to apply for orders to the Bishop of Nova Scotia then recently appointed,[26] and with that view resigned his Professorship and sailed in the British Packet for Halifax Nova Scotia in the beginning of October 1788.

Whatever disappointments Mr. Cochran had experienced in his country (the United States) yet he parted with many individuals with the utmost regret; and cherished the warmest and most grateful remembrance of their kindness. Among these were Dr. John Cochran,[27] who sought him out on his first arrival in

[25] Samuel Provoost (1742–1815) was a graduate in the first class of King's College 1758) and later B.A. of Cambridge, returning to New York with Anglican ordination to become assistant minister of Trinity Parish. A patriot during the Revolution, e resigned and spent the war years in Dutchess County, enjoying one of the largest rivate libraries in the Province, and cultivating his farm and garden. Returning to he city in 1784, he became rector of Trinity Parish, chaplain of the Continental Congress, and Regent of the University. In 1786 he was elected first Bishop of New York, nd on 4 February 1787, Provoost and William White of Pennsylvania were consecrated at Lambeth Palace by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the Bishop of Peterborough, the first Americans to receive Anglican consecration. Bishop Provoost later became first chaplain of the U. S. Senate, participated in Washington's inauguration, and was one of the original trustees of Columbia and second chairman of the board.

[26] Charles Inglis, D.D. (Oxon.), was the son of an Irish clergyman, and had been a school master in Lancaster, Pa., and S.P.G. missionary in Dover, Del., before becoming assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York, in 1766. He was made M.A. at King's College in 1767 and a member of the board of governors in 1770; during President Myles Cooper's absence in England in 1771–72 he resided in the college as acting president. A strongly loyalist churchman who had been active for years in endeavors to secure an Anglican bishop for the American colonies, he became a refugee from New York in the summer of 1776, remaining in Flushing until the British occupied the city in September. He was made rector of Trinity in 1777, officiating in the chapels until the successful conclusion of the Revolution in 1783, when he was evacuated from New York with some 29,000 other loyalists. He went to England, continuing to work for American bishoprics, and was himself chosen Bishop of Nova Scotia, the first colonial bishop of the English Church, and consecrated at Lambeth Palace, 12 August 1787.

[27] Dr. John Cochran (1730–1807) was a Pennsylvanian who served in the British forces during the French and Indian War and later settled as a physician in New Brunswick, N. J. A zealous Whig, he collaborated with Dr. William Shippen in a plan for establishing military hospitals during the American Revolution, and ultimately became chief physician and surgeon of the Continental Army and director-general of the hospitals of the United States.

New York; and to the last day of his continuance here was his cordial and intimate friend. So was Dr. John Mason,[28] a man who under an outward carriage rather stern and severe had a truly liberal and generous heart. This gentleman at an early period of their acquaintance asked Mr. Cochran whether it was his plan to continue always as at present, an instructor of youth or to enter into some of the other learned professions, as the law, for instance; To which Mr. Cochran replied that his present employment seemed the only one in which he could *immediately* be useful and that the study of law required time and resources which he did not possess. To which Dr. Mason replied that as to the means, it need be no objection for he could undertake to get that part accommodated, a suggestion which Mr. Cochran ever remembered with gratitude, tho his notions of independence would not suffer him to benefit by it. The only return he could make to Dr. Mason was to exert himself in an extraordinary degree in cultivating the promising talents of that gentleman's son, then under his care, and who has since made so distinguished a figure.

Bishop Provoost, Dr. Bard[29] and Mr. Moore (afterwards

[28] The Reverend John Mason, M.A. (Abernethy 1753), D.D. (Coll. N. J. 1786), native of Linlithgow, Scotland, was ordained by the Associate or Secession Church of Scotland in 1761 and the same year became minister of the Cedar Street Church in New York, holding this office until his death in 1792. During the British occupation of the city he removed his family to New Jersey and served as a chaplain with American troops. He was a trustee of Princeton and Columbia. W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, IX (Associate Reformed), 4–11.

Dr. Mason's son, the Reverend John Mitchell Mason, appears in a subsequent note.

[29] Samuel Bard (1742–1821), a notable figure in Columbia history, spent three undergraduate years at King's College (1759–1762) and took the M.D. at Edinburgh in 1765. In 1767 he was one of the six New York physicians who began the King's College Medical School. During the Revolution Dr. Bard continued his practice in New York City, not without suspicion from both Whigs and Tories, but his conduct was exemplary and in 1789 President Washington chose him as his personal physician. After the restoration of Columbia, Dr. Bard served as trustee and as professor in the arts and medical faculties. He was the first dean at Columbia, holding that title as head of the medical faculty from 1792 to 1804. In later life he spent as much time as he could at Hyde Park, practising medicine in partnership with Dr. David Hosack, experimenting in botany and agriculture, raising sheep, writing books, and serving, mostly *in absentia*, as president of the College of Physicians and Surgeons.

Bishop)[30] were also kind friends of his, whom he left with great regret; and he also remembered with much pleasure the polite and gentlemanly reception he always met with from Mr. Brockholst Livingston[31] then Treasurer of Columbia College.

It was the intention of Mr. Cochran on arriving in Nova Scotia to take orders and become a missionary there under the Society for Propagating the Gospel. But before the arrangements could be made for that purpose, an offer was made him by the Bishop and other Governors of King's College to be President of that infant Seminary, which had recently been established by a Law of the Province, and had a promise from Lord Grenville then Minister for the Colonies of a Royal Charter and endowment from England. This proposal Mr. Cochran was induced to accept, and having previously been ordained, he entered upon his new charge on the 1st June [*sic*] 1790.[32] The hopes however of

[30] Benjamin Moore (1748–1816), King's College 1768, became assistant minister of Trinity Church in 1775, and the same year, after the flight of President Myles Cooper, was made president *pro tempore* of the college. He remained in the city during the occupation, serving as chaplain of the military hospital in the college building. In 1783 his election as rector of Trinity was challenged by the Whigs of the parish, and he withdrew, accepting the professorship of rhetoric and logic at Columbia. In 1800 he was made rector of Trinity without opposition, and the following year he became Bishop of New York and president of Columbia; a stroke of paralysis terminated his services in all three posts in 1811.

[31] Brockholst Livingston (Princeton 1774) rose to be a lieutenant colonel in the Revolution, was a judge of the Supreme Court of New York State, and became justice of the U. S. Supreme Court on Jefferson's nomination in 1806. He was a Regent of the University, 1784–1787, and one of the original Columbia board of trustees named in 1787; he served as trustee and treasurer of the college until his death in 1823, and for the last seven years of his life was also chairman of the board.

[32] The first steps toward the founding of a college in Nova Scotia were taken in New York City. The months between the surrender of Cornwallis and the evacuation of New York were bleak times indeed for the Loyalists, but in spite of the loss of their cause, their property, and their livelihood, they were making plans for the future, and in March 1783 eighteen clergymen met in New York and drew up plans for a "Religious and Literary Institution" in Nova Scotia and for an episcopate in that province. The following October these documents were sent to Sir Guy Carleton, who transmitted them to Lord North. Of the eighteen who signed, ten were graduates of King's College, New York, or held *ad eundem* or honorary degrees there: Charles Inglis, Benjamin Moore, Samuel Seabury, Jeremiah Leaming, George Panton, John Beardsley, Isaac Browne, Thomas Lambert Moore, Joshua Bloomer, and John Bowden. These documents are published in full in *Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections*, VI, 123–135.

Charles Inglis, whose name headed both lists of signers, was obviously the moving spirit, and shortly after he was settled as Bishop of Nova Scotia, he procured the establishment of an academy at Windsor by the Provincial Assembly. The academy

English Patronage were long delayed. The French Revolution, and the long and terrible war that followed, caused Nova Scotia and all its concerns to be little in the thoughts of the King's Ministry: and in the mean time, as one of the King's Sons[33] com-

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was opened by the Bishop 1 November 1788 in the house of the widow Susannah Boutineau Francklin, granddaughter of Peter Faneuil of Boston; there were seventeen students, and Archibald Paine Inglis, nephew of the Bishop, was appointed president for one year.

The following year the Nova Scotia Legislature passed an act for the founding, establishment, and maintenance of King's College (*Nova Scotia Statutes at Large*, 1789 [29 Geo. III], Vol. I, p. 268, cap. IV). The act named eight provincial officials to be *ex officio* governors of the college, and of these, the following are known to have served: John Parr, the lieutenant-governor; Charles Inglis, the bishop; Samson Salter Blowers (Harvard 1763), the chief-justice; Richard Bulkeley, the secretary of the province; and Richard John Uniacke, the speaker of the Assembly. On 18 May 1790 the "Governors of the Academy or College at Windsor" gave William Cochran a certificate nominating him to be "President of the said Academy, Seminary, or College," which entitled him to receive holy orders; five days later he was ordained deacon at St. Paul's Church, Halifax, by Bishop Inglis. On the first of July 1790, the bishop went to the academy at Windsor with Justice Blowers; A. P. Inglis "resigned his office of President, and Mr. Cochran was invested with that office in the presence of the students" (C. Inglis Journals, Nova Scotia Archives). It is clear from letters of Inglis to the Archbishop of Canterbury (30 Nov. 1789 and 27 May 1790; copies in Inglis Correspondence, Nova Scotia Archives) that the Windsor institution was simply an academy, that a royal charter raising it to college status was hoped for from the start, together with an English president under the Archbishop's patronage, and that Cochran, though qualified and giving satisfaction, was chosen because no English university graduates had turned up.

The college building was commenced in 1791, and resembled halls existing at Princeton, Brown, King's, and Dartmouth. It was built of wood, 201 feet long and 36 wide, three stories high, with five front entries. Blindly ignoring Nova Scotia climate, the governors ordered a flat roof, which was a source of trouble and expense for many years until an attic was added with a properly pitched roof. Henry Youle Hind, *The University of King's College* (1890), 25.

A letter from Bishop Inglis to [Richard] Cumberland, Halifax, 5 May 1790 (Inglis Corres.), is much too good to be denied to present-day readers: "With respect to our seminary, one of my principal motives for pushing it forward, was to prevent the importation of American Divines and American politics into this province. Unless we have a seminary here, the youth of Nova Scotia will be sent for their education to the Revolted Colonies—the inevitable consequence would be, a corruption of their religious and political principles. The seminary has already answered this purpose; several young men are now receiving their education in it, whom their parents, from mere necessity, must have sent to those colonies, and did intend it. The less connection and intercourse this province has with the American States the better. Their principles must be fatal to our peace; and a full consciousness of this has stimulated my exertions in promoting our seminary, notwithstanding the difficulties that have already, and do still occur—it is like rolling a Sisyphean Stone."

[33] Edward Augustus, Duke of Kent (1767–1820), fourth son of George III and father of Queen Victoria, was brevet-colonel in Canada from 1791 to 1793, and from May 1799 to the autumn of 1800 was general and commander-in-chief of the forces in British North America.

nanded at Halifax it was easy for gentlemen to get their sons rovided for at an early age in the army or navy; and there were ew of course who would choose to go thro' a regular academical ducation.

At length in 1802 the long expected charter was granted to King's College, with an endowment of £1000. sterling annually: nd on the 11th December the same year a grace passed the Uniersity of Dublin for granting to Mr. Cochran the Degree of Dr n Sacred Theology.[34]

But it was now that Dr. Cochran was doomed to suffer the everest disappointment and injustice.[35] When the situation was

[34] Cochran also had an honorary M.A. from Columbia (voted by the trustees 14 March and 8 April 1788) which he did not use. The title-page of his *Brief Rules of the Latin Prosody* which he published in Halifax, without date, but subsequent to his ordination in 1790, reads: "By the Revd. William Cochran, A.B."

[35] The arrival of the royal charter of King's College, granted by George III, 12 May 1802, was the beginning of many years of woe for Cochran and the college. The charter named to the new board of governors Sir John Wentworth (Harvard 1755), lieutenant-governor of the Province; Charles Inglis, the bishop; Samson Salter Blowers, chief justice, Alexander Croke, judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty; Richard John Uniacke, speaker of the Assembly and attorney-general; James Stewart, solicitor-general; and Benning Wentworth, secretary of the Province, together with four others to be elected. The charter required the board to frame statutes for the government of the college, and the committee which was appointed (Inglis, Croke, and Blowers) was directed by the board to model the statutes after those of Oxford University. This committee, dominated by the narrow and wrong-headed Oxonian Croke, disregarded the fact that only a minority of the population of Nova Scotia was Anglican, and required all students on matriculation to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. The Bishop went on record in protest of this piece of folly, but he was overruled in the committee. As a result, King's College struggled along feebly for decades in competition with several other small and feeble denominational colleges which sprang up in the Maritime Provinces.

Cochran was continued in his office when the royal charter was received and read to the board, but the intention of the governors to put the "university" on a footing with those of Great Britain was a disturbing sign, and the troublesome statutes, adopted in July 1803, made it a qualification that the president and professors or fellows "should have been educated at the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, or under persons of that description at Windsor." In September 1803, Cochran was demoted to vice-president and made Professor of Grammar, Rhetoric and Logic. In the autumn of 1804 the Reverend Thomas Cox, D.D., of Worcester College, Oxford, arrived with a recommendation from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was made president. Cochran was then required to give up the president's apartments in the college, and assigned "a parlour and two bedrooms [12 by 7]" for a family consisting of himself, his wife, six children, and three servants. It was not until the following spring that the governors granted him permission to lodge outside the college and agreed to pay his rent in a nearby dwelling. President Cox died within a year, and the claims of Cochran to the position were again brought forward, but he had incurred the enmity of Judge Croke and Sir John Wentworth, and only

proposed to him at first by the Bishop that prelate urged strongly, as a motive for his acceptance, the dignity and emolument to which he might look forward when the Seminary should receive the promised Charter; and the very words of the Provincial law seemed to secure the permanency of the appointment during good behavior; It gives power to the governors, to appoint a President and *for misconduct* to remove him—implying in the fairest construction that *without misconduct*, they had not the power to remove him.

No misconduct was alledged against Dr. Cochran, but on the contrary the Governors officially acknowledged his long and faithful services, and even instructed their agent in England to have his name inserted in the Charter, as the first President. But all this was reversed by the arrival of Dr. Croke[30] as Judge of the Vice Admiralty whose name had been added in England to those of the former Governors. This gentleman who had a strong mind united with an overbearing temper had been educated in Oxford and seemed scarcely capable of allowing that merit could originate elsewhere: and he so managed that all the Governors, the Bishop excepted, gave up their former opinions and agreed that he should invite a President from his favourite University.

Dr. Cochran could not but consider these proceedings as a breach of that faith under which he had spent the prime of his life in arduous and painful labour. He represented his case to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Patron of the University of Windsor, in a memorial the truth of whose statements was attested by the Bishop of Nova Scotia; and in another addressed to the Secretary of State. The gentleman in the office to whom the latter was first submitted, declared that in all his experience he

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renewed wrangling resulted. Charles Porter, D.D., of Brasenose College, Oxford, recommended by the Bishop of Bangor, appeared in 1806 and was made president. Bishop Inglis wrote Cochran a soothing letter, and Cochran's academic career seems to have been relatively peaceful thereafter.

[30] Sir Alexander Croke, D.C.L. (1758–1842), educated at Oriel College, Oxford, and at the Inner Temple, was judge of the vice-admiralty court of Nova Scotia 1801–1815, and was knighted in 1816. The full, dreary story of his life in set forth by Hon. Adams G. Archibald in the *Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections*, II, 110–128.

had not known a harder case; And the Archbishop (Moore) was well inclined to redress Dr. Cochran; but unfortunately he just then sunk into such a state of health as disqualified him for all business; and the political department was contented with signifying to the governors that they should at least make Dr. Cochran as well as he was before. They offered him a Professorship with £100. Sterling a year more than was fixed for the salary of the others; and this the importunity of his friends, and a regard to his family induced him reluctantly to accept.

An academical life, spent in the same useful labours every day is not likely to produce many incidents that can enliven biography. The first of any importance that occurred to Dr. Cochran after this period was an attempt to restore his services to Columbia College. Bishop Moore having resolved to resign the Presidency of that Institution in the year 1809 proposed to Dr. Cochran by letter in the summer of that year to become his Successor—and we have authority to say that he would have been inclined to accept that place if his election to it could have been effected with that unanimity which he made an essential point.

He had known something of the theological disputes that had taken place here, and utterly disliked them. Therefore before he should accept the very honourable and lucrative place that was proposed to him, he wished to ascertain what the feelings of those who differed from the Episcopal Church would be on such an event. As his former pupil Dr. John M. Mason,[37] he knew was a leading character amongst them, he did not think there

[37] The Reverend John Mitchell Mason (1770–1829), Columbia 1789 and M.A. Edinburgh, succeeded his father in the ministry of the Cedar Street Church and from 1804 conducted a theological school for the Associate Reformed denomination which was later removed to Newburgh. Dr. Mason was the greatest pulpit orator of his day in New York and was constantly embroiled in theological controversies; around 1810 he was breaking lances with Bishop Hobart on the claims of the episcopacy, and in that year he resigned his pastoral charge and formed a Presbyterian congregation. In 1811 he was made administrative head of Columbia College with the title of provost, and Dr. William Harris, the rector of St. Mark's Church, became titular president. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory, and Mason resigned in 1816, later becoming president of Dickinson College for three years. Dr. Harris (Harvard 1786), a corpulent New Englander who used shorthand, was full-time president of Columbia from 1816 until his death in 1829.

could be any fairer or more honourable way than to ask the question of him. This he did in a frank and friendly letter, which Dr. M. never answered; and this from a favourite pupil, and the son of a much esteemed friend, Dr. Cochran thought one of the most mortifying circumstances of his life and the unkindest treatment he had ever received from anyone who had been under his care. Bishop Moore about this time became incapable of business; and Dr. Mason himself, soon after, was elected to be head of Columbia College under the title of *Provost* whilst Dr. Harris was appointed the nominal President to comply with the Charter which requires that officer to be a Clergyman of the Church of England.[38]

The Governors of King's College, Nova Scotia, are certain official persons to the number of eight with power if they think fit to add three others by election to their number. In virtue of this power Dr. Cochran was without solicitation elected to be one of their body in the year 1814, by the very persons who had concurred in depriving him of that place to which he thought himself entitled both in law and in equity. This was at least to him a comfortable testimony that they felt respect for his character and conduct.

It now only remains to say a few words of Dr. Cochran in his capacity of Clergyman. By the law of the Province it was required that the President of King's College must be in Holy orders. But no cure of Souls was annexed to his place. Yet as he felt that he had been heretofore worse than an unprofitable ser-

[38] The charter granted to King's College, New York, in 1754 contains the stipulation that "the President of the said College forever for the time being shall be a Member of and in communion with the Church of England as by law established," but the legislative act under which Columbia has operated since 1787 cancels this requirement and expressly forbids any religious test. The original campus of the college (the two-block area bounded by Church Street and West Broadway, Murray and Barclay Streets), still owned by Columbia, was given by "the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York in communion with the Church of England" (Trinity Church) 12 May 1755 with the Anglican president stipulation, and this fact undoubtedly influenced the trustees of 1811 in their decision to make Dr. Harris, the Episcopalian, president, while they chose Dr. Mason, the Presbyterian, to run the college. Up to 1947, all Columbia presidents were, at the time of their election, Anglicans or Episcopalians.

vant in matters of religion he thought he was peculiarly called upon to do for it all that was in his power. He therefore made it his practice under the sanction of the Bishop and Society for Propagating the Gospel on Sundays and in his vacations to attend and preach in the adjacent places which were without Clergymen. Some of these were twenty and some thirty miles distant from his residence and divided by rivers which had no bridges. He was the means of having four churches erected where none ever were before, viz. those of Newport, Douglas, Rawdon and Falmouth, of which last he held the Rectory for many years, together with the Professorships of Greek and Latin languages and of Rhetoric and Logic in King's College.

Many of the young men who participated in his instructions have risen to eminence in their respective countries; of whom it may be sufficient to mention here, Dewitt Clinton, Governor, and Samuel Jones, Chancellor of this State (New York), John Randolph and his brother, of Virginia, General Izard of S. Carolina, The Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia, Archdeacon Stuart of Upper Canada and his brother the Attorney General of the Lower Province, George Pyke and N. Uniacke, Judges of the Supreme Court at Montreal, besides his own son A. W. Cochran, civil secretary to several governors of British North America—To whom might be added many distinguished persons, Divines, Physicians and Lawyers in divers places.[39]

[39] De Witt Clinton (Columbia 1786) has been mentioned above.

Samuel Jones, Jr. (Columbia and Yale 1790) was Chancellor of the State of New York 1826–1828, chief justice of the Superior Court of New York City 1828–1847, and justice of the Supreme Court of the State 1847–1850.

John Randolph of Roanoke and his brother Theodorick were for a time members of the Columbia class of 1792 and lived in the college building attended by their slaves. John was subsequently member of Congress, U. S. Senator, and Minister to Russia.

George Izard spent two years at Columbia in the class of 1793 and was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1792; he rose to be Major General, U.S.A., and was Governor of Arkansas Territory 1825–1828.

John Inglis, son of Bishop Charles Inglis, was born in New York in 1777, and died in London in 1850; he became third Bishop of Nova Scotia in 1825.

The Venerable George Okill Stuart, D.D., D.C.L., was educated at Windsor and at Harvard (A.B. 1801), became Archdeacon of Upper Canada, and died in 1862. His brother, Sir James Stuart, D.C.L. (1780–1853) was attorney-general of Lower

Dr. Cochran died on the ( ) of ( ) in the year ( ).

Cochran sent his autobiographical memoir to Dr. Hosack first in 1823. Apparently he asked for its return a few years later to make additions and corrections, then sent it to New York finally in 1827. Extracts from the covering letters follow:

Windsor, N.S., 30th June 1823.

My Dear Friend:

This day two years ago I left your hospitable abode, with a heavy heart, because it was quite improbable I should ever see the dear friends who are its inmates again. . . .

It is time, and more than time, that I should perform the promise I gave you two years since, that I would send you some account of my origin and progress through life to serve as material of some notice of me in your projected History of Columbia College. You wished me to do it in a confidential and friendly manner and so I have; not even once having read over what I have scribbled. It will therefore be for you in transcribing, to correct, alter, supply, abridge, as you see it wants; for I am sure you will find words and perhaps sentences, omitted, which were in my mind but did not pass to the paper. My desire is that in every point you make what use you please of what I send.

Your plan of giving some memoirs of those who have been connected with your Seminary, I think a very good one; indeed I may say the *only* good one by which the history of an Academical Institution can be rendered interesting. For what can the history of a College or University be, but the history of those connected with it either as teachers or students?

Canada 1825–1831, and from 1841 until his death chief justice of that province; he was created baronet in 1840.

George Pyke has eluded all efforts of this editor to identify him.

Norman Fitzgerald Uniacke, eldest son of Richard John Uniacke, was attorney-general of Lower Canada 1809–1825 and later judge of the court of King's Bench in Montreal; he died at Halifax in 1846.

Andrew William Cochran was born at Windsor in 1792, and died at Quebec, 11 July 1849. He was graduated B.A. from King's College in 1811 (Hon. D.C.L. 1840), and studied law. In 1812 he became assistant civil secretary to the governor-in-chief of Canada, Sir George Prevost, and was civil secretary during the succeeding administrations of Sir John Coape Sherbrooke and Lord Dalhousie; from 1827 to 1841 he was a member of the Executive Council of Lower Canada.

Nowhere in his manuscript does William Cochran mention his other son, Reverend James Cuppaidge Cochran, B.A. King's 1825, M.A. 1835, D.D. 1872, born in the college building 17 September 1798. He was S.P.G. missionary at Lunenburg, editor of the *Colonial Churchman* and *Church Times*, rector of Trinity Church, Halifax, and chaplain of the House of Assembly for nineteen years; he died at Halifax, 20 June 1880.

Wood's Antiquities of Oxford are no ways comparable either for utility or pleasure, to his *Athenae Oxonienses*, from which latter biography and history [*biographers and historians?*] have drawn materials they would not have found elsewhere. If it occurs to any one to smile when we bring in Oxford whilst speaking of King's College New York or King's College, N. Scotia, this is our answer, that Hercules himself was once a child in the hands of the midwife and the nurse.

How far it may be your plan to enlarge on the life and fortunes of those who have for any time been officers in your College, I do not know. But I fear I have given you quite too much of so insignificant an individual as myself, and so short a time resident among you. The case is easy to everybody but you; for you have only to cut out all that is superfluous. Old men, on *any* subject, are apt to be garrulous, but when themselves are the themes, what end can you expect. To give you some better idea of that age than you can have until you arrive at it, I will just tell you, that I have here sent you about *one twentieth* part of what recurred to *my mind* with a great deal of interest. But let your Dr. [Samuel Latham] Mitchill believe me, for he is younger, that what interests a man's self does not always interest the rest of the world. . . .

Writing 27 June 1827, Cochran said:

On looking over the foregoing I cannot see any thing to add that would be interesting to people *here* except you should fancy a short character after filling up the foregoing blanks. If so, I must desire that it be penned by Governor Clinton, or some other of my pupils less partial than yourself. You have too warm a heart to paint a friend with exact truth: And with all the prating about myself which the paper contains, be assured that I have still enough of my old independent spirit about me to protest against one word being said or written of me when dead, which was not verified by my life.

The lacunae in the old professor's account may best be closed by quoting the inscription on his gravestone in the cemetery at Windsor: "In memory of the Rev. Wm. COCHRAN, D.D. a native of Omagh, in Ireland, and educated at Trinity College Dublin, He was for more than 40 years, a Missionary of the Church of England in this County and for the same period, a Professor in King's College, Windsor, Beloved by his pupils, and highly useful in his generation, his walk was finished on the 4 of Aug. 1833, AEt.77."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Traitor and the Spy: Benedict Arnold and John André. By James Thomas Flexner. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1953. x + 431 pages, index, front.; 25-page bibliography issued separately on request. $5.75.)

Perhaps the most exciting, emotionally upsetting and far-reaching episode of the Revolutionary War was the treason of Arnold and his negotiations with André for the surrender of the fort at West Point to the British. Because of the hold which this affair has always held on the emotions and imagination of our people it has been one of the most written-about series of events in the history of our war for independence.

It would, therefore, seem that any present-day author would have to have great hardihood to re-study the subject with any hope of finding new material or of bettering the writings of his predecessors. This Mr. Flexner has now done with remarkable success, for he has discovered and used for the first time a mass of manuscript source material of great importance not hitherto known and has brought together and sifted the great amount of fact, incorrect tradition, folklore and prejudice, and in the volume before us has, for the first time, given us a clear and accurate picture of the three people most concerned, General Benedict Arnold, Major John André, and Arnold's wife, Peggy Shippen Arnold, who is clearly identified as one of the conspirators and not as a mere innocent bystander.

The best previous account of the treason itself appeared in Carl Van Doren's *The Secret History of the American Revolution* in 1941, but that was only part of the story.

Mr. Flexner has now given us all the pertinent facts of the lives of the three conspirators, of their motives for the conspiracy, and of the way these three and many other more-or-less innocent contributors wove together the events of the treason. For the first time we have well-rounded pictures of Arnold and André, complete stories of their early lives and military careers, an account of the psychological events which made Arnold and his wife easy prey for the plots of the British spy, and the changes in André's own psychology from that of a dilettante soldier with a naturally mild disposition to a ruthless British partisan who hated the Americans. For the first time Major André's letters home to his family, his Journal of the Siege of St. John, and a large number of smaller collections and individual letters have been discovered and used. The new material greatly rounds out and in some cases changes our picture of men and events, and the resulting volume is the best book ever written on the subject.

The author, a true historian, writes without bias and supplies in the separately printed source references a complete listing not only of the general books and manuscript collections used, but also a series of chap-

er-by-chapter bibliographical notes identifying the source of every istorical statement made. It is a pleasure to note fifty references to riginal source materials in the library of The New-York Historical ociety where much of the research work for the volume was conducted.

The frontispiece, which includes a hitherto unpublished miniature ortrait of Major André, and a drawing of Peggy Shippen by André, lso includes a portrait of Benedict Arnold—the latter from our collec-ions. It is interesting to remember that our Society also owns the desk n which General Washington wrote the order for André's execution, nd two of the three silver medals awarded by Congress to the captors f André, the other being owned by Sleepy Hollow Restorations and xhibited in Philipse Castle at Tarrytown.

This careful, judicious, and scholarly volume is written in a most at-ractive style and is without doubt the ablest historical work so far written by the author. It is attractively published in large octavo format nd has, in the main work, eight pages of important notes and a brief three-page statement of sources.

For some unaccountable reason the publisher issued in multilitho-graphic form the twenty-five pages of source references as a separate pamphlet which does not accompany the book but which can be secured on application to the publisher. The index is fairly satisfactory but from the hundreds of available illustrations which would have greatly en-hanced the attractiveness and historical value of the volume, only a frontispiece was included. It is our belief that the publisher's desire to make this a popular book by trimming out most of the scholarly aids has made it less attractive, both to the scholar and the general reader. The inclusion of the excellent bibliography as a part of the book would have enhanced its value and would have added little to its bulk. The inclusion of a considerable number of illustrations—drawings by André, illustra-tions of West Point and of various buildings concerned, and a map of the region of the treason—would have added greatly to its attractiveness and value at no prohibitive expense and would undoubtedly have in-creased its salability.

The volume is a re-study of important historic events; it will be read with great interest by a large public and must be included in all im-portant libraries containing books of American history.

The New York Historical Society R. W. G. Vail

Leisler's Rebellion: A Study of Democracy in New York, 1664–1720. By Jerome R. Reich. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953. ix + 194 pages, biblio., index. $4.50)

The Rebellion led by Jacob Leisler from 1689 to 1691 is a fascinating and controversial aspect of New York's colonial history. Mr. Reich's volume presents two new theses concerning that development—that its causes can be traced to the English conquest of New Netherland in

1664, and that it played a vital role in the development of Provincial politics through 1720. The author believes there were three groups in New York—the Dutch, the English on Long Island, and the merchants and artisans—whose grievances provided the impetus for the upheaval of 1689, and his first thesis is based upon them.

From 1664 through 1680 there were numerous complaints by the Dutch against the English government, and a good case is presented for grievances during that readjustment period. But as the decade of the 1680's is reached, the case (pages 32–35) becomes weak. The instances of purely Dutch discontent were too scarce in the 1680's to support the conclusion (page 54) that as late as 1689 the Dutch "had never become completely reconciled to the change" resulting from the English conquest. In explaining Dutch support of the Rebellion (though there was also Dutch opposition) the author overemphasizes national consciousness and neglects the full force of religion. When the intensely religious Dutch were forced to choose between Calvinist William of Orange and Catholic James Stuart, their choice was not too unexpected.

As far as the complaints of the English on Long Island are concerned, this reviewer can only point out that those Long Island Puritans exhibited sufficient evidences of discontent in the 1680's and little is gained by tracing such developments back to 1664.

In considering the grievances of the merchants and artisans, however, Mr. Reich attempts to prove (page 48) that this upheaval "began as a distinctly metropolitan uprising." This is open to criticism, for he admits (pages 56–57) that the insurrection began in Suffolk and Queens Counties before any disturbances occurred in New York City. Further, some of the evidence adduced to support this contention appears a bit farfetched. For example, how can the government's action to redress the complaints of the Albany bakers (page 35) be viewed as a grievance of those same bakers? And, how does the jurisdictional dispute between East Jersey and the Duke of York (pages 40–41) illustrate mercantile grievances?

Since the author contends that this was an urban uprising, it is surprising to find omitted from his bibliography such standard works as Arthur Everett Peterson's *New York As an Eighteenth-Century Municipality, Prior to 1731* (New York: 1917), and Carl Bridenbaugh's *Cities in the Wilderness* (New York: 1938). Even more surprising is his failure to consult Bernard Mason's "Some Aspects of the New York Revolt of 1689" (*New York History*, XXX: 165–180). It is Mason's thesis that one cause of the Rebellion was an economic depression in New York in the 1680's and a close-corporation government which blocked any effort to redress matters. This article might have altered the attack made on Governor Dongan (page 39) for his acceptance of fees for renewing land patents and granting charters. There was nothing legally or morally wrong with this. Such fees were Dongan's perquisites, but a complaint can be made about his poor timing in the collection of them.

With Mr. Reich's interest in the background of the Rebellion his lack of concern with the personalities of 17-century New York is incomprehensible. Jacob Leisler was a member of the colonial aristocracy, usually a tight-knit group, yet his bitterest enemies were his relatives by marriage from that group. No real effort is made to solve that paradox, yet the solution lies in the dispute over the Govert Loockermans estate, appraised at over £50,000 in 1692 (mentioned obliquely on page 58); the Domine Nicholas Van Rensselaer quarrel, the full import of which is ignored (pages 33–34); and the fight between the Dutch and American branches of the Van Rensselaer family (see below).

Mr. Reich has not added much to the story of the Rebellion given us in Mariana Van Rensselaer's *History of the City of New York in the Seventeenth Century* (2 vols., New York: 1909). But he has permitted inaccuracies and misinterpretations to slip into the story. An example of this occurs when William III's letter to Francis Nicholson is referred to (page 74) as Nicholson's "new commission as 'Lieut Gov: and Commander in chief.'" To view that letter, received by Leisler and *not* Nicholson on December 10, 1689, as a "commission" is to misread the document; it was little more than an instruction to keep the government running temporarily pending a permanent settlement.

Mr. Reich's comments that Leisler's Assembly "was definitely not a hand-picked body" (page 91) and that it was "the first really free assembly ever to convene in New York" (page 92) are devoid of proof and indicate a lack of understanding of New York politics. It was not unusual for the government to interfere in the *vive voce* elections of that period, and, considering Leisler's tenuous hold on the Province and the reason for convening the Assembly (to levy a tax), it would have been unusual for Leisler to have allowed his opposition to stand for Assembly seats. Besides, Mr. Reich acknowledges (page 91) the Leislerians' own admission that the Ulster delegates were hand-picked. While the Assembly did discuss matters that brought about its dissolution, that is a slim thread on which to hang the label "first really free."

This reviewer must also take exception to the conclusion (page 92) that the destruction of the trade monopolies of New York City and Albany was "a protest against the mercantile oligarchy." Since it was coupled with a highly unpopular but necessary tax measure, it was more likely a sugar-coating for the bitter pill being offered the citizenry.

There are other points which cast serious doubts on this study's value. Mr. Reich recites a list of grievances, including a detailed account of the seizure of goods belonging to Matthew Plowman, which he attributes (page 98) to a petition of some merchants. The document, however, contains no reference to Plowman. Further, the author confuses (page 99) the Kiliaen Van Rensselaer who signed a pro-Leisler petition with the Kiliaen who controlled the Manor of Rensselaerswyck. The pro-Leisler Kiliaen represented the Dutch branch of the family and supported Leisler in an effort to wrest control of the manor from his American

cousin. Leisler's fall ended the Dutch Kiliaen's prospects of success, for Sloughter's Assembly, on the motion of the American cousin, denied his petition for naturalization, a process essential to the successful prosecution of his claim.

And finally, his interpretation of the riot of June 1690 against Leisler (page 101) would have been modified if he had consulted the invaluable collection of *Livingston Mss.* located until recently in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. He would have obtained an eye-witness account, forwarded to Robert Livingston, which provides fairly conclusive proof that it was not a pre-conceived effort to overthrow Leisler nor an attempt on his life, but a misunderstanding over the release of some prisoners. These documents throw light on other aspects of the Rebellion, and his failure to use them is inexplicable.

As far as the treatment of the post-Rebellion period is concerned, Mr. Reich deserves some credit for attempting to trace the influence of the Rebellion in the political alignments of early 18-century New York. He has blazed a trail, but his treatment cannot be considered definitive because of the above criticisms and his failure to consult such works as Mary Clarke Patterson's *Parliamentary Privilege in the American Colonies* (New Haven: 1943), Dixon Ryan Fox's *Caleb Heathcote, Gentleman Colonist* (New York: 1926), Everett Kimball's *The Public Life of Joseph Dudley* (New York: 1911), and Leonard W. Labaree's *Conservatism in Early American History* (New York: 1948), among others.

Numerous errors of fact have crept into this work, including: dating New York City's Dongan Charter as 1684 instead of 1686 (page 7); misstating the number of delegates to Dongan's Assembly by omitting Westchester and Dutchess Counties (page 28); referring to a "Ward Philipse" when Frederick was probably intended (page 38n); stating that Leisler's second Assembly session levied a tax (page 106) when it merely amended the first session's bill by providing deadlines for payment; and referring to the author of the letter of April 8, 1691, in this Society's *Blathwayt Mss.* as "one of Ingoldsby's captains" (page 109n) when he was Governor Sloughter's Attorney General, Thomas Newton.

Fault can also be found with the mechanics of Mr. Reich's scholarship. In using contemporary materials he has deprived the general reader of any opportunity to exercise a value judgment. In referring to documents, he has merely cited page and volume numbers of large collections. It makes a difference whether the version of an incident was taken from a letter written, for example, by Leisler or Bayard. The reader should be given that information.

If a definitive study of Leisler the man and the movement was expected, the reader is bound to be disappointed.

New York University LAWRENCE H. LEDER

The New England Mind: From Colony to Province. By PERRY MILLER. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953. xi + 485 pages, index. $6.00.)

According to Perry Miller of Harvard, and there is no one to speak with greater authority on the subject, New England in the early years of the 18th century was "a parched land, crying for deliverance from the hold of ideas that had served their time and died." The greatness of man's dependency on God "had unaccountably become a euphuism for the greatness of man. Possibly that was because this greatness had not yet been thoroughly considered in the whole of it."

This study, then, of the theology of the Bay Colony, from Richard Mather's farewell sermon of 1657 to Jonathan Edwards' Harvard lecture of 1730, might have been entitled the crack-up of the radical Calvinism of the founders. For there is no meaning to the twistings and turnings of the Mathers and their allies other than a confession of failure. As told by anyone but Professor Miller, the tale might have been too solemn for a 20th-century audience. Happily his English is as graceful as his scholarship is heroic, and even if this is not the sort of book to be thumbed in a hammock, it is far too penetrating an account of the theocratic experiment to be labeled "an important contribution." The "important" books, after all, are the ones we manage to avoid reading, and *The New England Mind* deserves to be widely read.

"New Englanders, having left England to become the mentors of Europe, found themselves with none to instruct," says Professor Miller at the very beginning. In the remote American wilderness our theologians —strangers, as Increase Mather realized, "to some considerable motions and transactions in other parts of the world"—spent themselves defending ideals well-nigh incomprehensible to their descendants. Perhaps the only criticism to be levelled against the author is his neglect of the activity of the Church of England in this period. Told against the background of the missionary endeavors of the S. P. G., the story of the Mathers would be more meaningful to modern readers.

Dr. Miller wisely centers his attention on the fast-day orations of the preachers. In the early days these proclamations were geared to an astonishing causal sequence. Sins exist; therefore, the ministers reasoned, disease breaks out. Once the sins are reformed, the disease is cured. Later on, the emphasis was laid on the sins themselves rather than on their consequences; distresses were reduced to footnotes. And in time hardheartedness was exorcised instead of the mildew.

Dr. Miller's readers will be especially grateful for his interpretation of the careers of Solomon Stoddard and John Wise. To Stoddard may be traced the beginnings of Presbyterianism in New Jersey. Jonathan Dickinson, we are reminded, grew up in Stoddard's kingdom, and might never

have turned to the Presbyterian Church had it not been for the example of the grand old man of Northampton.

John Wise—Dr. Miller's favorite candidate for immortality—is easily the most attractive personality in the book. We are told of his gallant resistance to the collection of taxes by fiat, of his fondness for paper money, and also of his wonderful argument that luxury was not sinful. Dr. Miller is quite right in saying that this life-long radical was nowhere more radical than in his dream of "a generous People, that would Banish sordidness, and live Bright and Civil, with fine Accomplishments about them."

The New-York Historical Society WAYNE ANDREWS

Iron Millionaire: Life of Charlemagne Tower. By HAL BRIDGES. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952. xv + 322 pages, index, illus. $4.75.)

Often confused with his son and namesake who was ambassador to Germany in Theodore Roosevelt's time, the first Charlemagne Tower (1809–1889) turns out to have been something more than just another farm boy who made good. According to this sensitive biography by Dr. Bridges of the University of Colorado, Tower struggled to the end of his days to live up to his formidable Christian name. A native of Oneida County, New York, he was inspired by his conscientious parents to reach intellectual as well as financial heights beyond the ken of his environment.

Tower may not have been the most popular man of the Harvard class of 1830, but he was indeed a dutiful scholar. Dr. Bridges reminds us that he ignored those of his classmates who shortened his first name to "Charl." And when a fellow student presumed to interrupt him at his studies, he was glacial. "Any one who will not get his lessons has not much honor," the future millionaire declared.

Dr. Bridges, who smiles at the undeniably solemn figure his hero cut in Cambridge, is too wise a biographer, however, to sneer at the earnestness which marked this country boy in college. Always sympathetic, but neither an idolater nor an iconoclast, the author is the ideal person to sketch the career of a man who stood high, as Allan Nevins points out in his introduction, in "the relatively new group in American affairs, the corporation lawyers with one foot in the courtroom, the other in the business office."

After many years' experience managing the coal lands of the Munson family of Utica, lawyer Tower had the satisfaction of selling those properties to Gowen of the Reading for $3,000,000. He made the mistake of turning down the chance to invest in the Mesabi iron range, but by 1880 he was busy exploiting the iron of the neighboring Vermilion, and out of this he finally cleared $6,000,000.

Since all of Tower's transactions are chronicled with a brevity which preserves the very tang of money-making in the 19-century, Dr. Bridges has proved himself to be an artist in his first book. If the next figure with whom he deals is more of a household name than the master of the Vermilion, the author should reach a wide audience.

The New-York Historical Society WAYNE ANDREWS

John Witherspoon Comes to America. A Documentary Account Based Largely on New Materials. By L. H. BUTTERFIELD. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Library, 1953. xiv + 99 pages, illus., index. $4.00.)

The second in the series of occasional publications issued by the Princeton University Library under the sponsorship of the Friends of the Princeton Library, this volume tells the story of the negotiations of 1766–1768 which brought to America the man who was to preside over the College of New Jersey for nearly a quarter of a century and who in 1776 was the only educator and clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence. It is based largely on hitherto unpublished letters from Witherspoon to Benjamin Rush.

The Custer Myth. A Source Book of Custeriana. Written and compiled by COLONEL W. A. GRAHAM, U.S.A. (ret.). To which is added: *Important Items of Custeriana and a Complete and Comprehensive Bibliography*. By FRED DUSTIN. (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Stackpole Company, 1953. xxii + 413 pages, illus., biblio., index. $10.00.)

This interesting volume by two outstanding Custer scholars offers a representative selection from the sources on the Battle of the Little Big Horn (the Reno Inquiry record, published in 1951, not included), as well as "the most complete and comprehensive bibliography concerned with CUSTERIANA in all its aspects that has ever been compiled."

The Iroquois Eagle Dance, an Offshoot of the Calumet Dance. By WILLIAM N. FENTON. With "An Analysis of the Iroquois Eagle Dance and Songs," by GERTRUDE PROKOSCH KURATH. [Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin 156.*] (Washington, D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution, 1953. vi + 324 pages, illus., biblio., index. $1.50, paper.)

In this monograph, combining ethnology and history, Dr. Fenton describes the Iroquois medicinal ritual of the Eagle Dance, as observed on the Allegany and Tonawanda reservations in New York State and the Grand River reservation in Ontario.

Railroad Leaders 1845–1890: The Business Mind in Action. By THOMAS C. COCHRAN. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953. ix + 550 pages, index. $7.50.)

It was Lord Melbourne, you may remember, who expressed a preference for dead poets. Once they were in their graves, he could skim through their collected works without worrying about the dreadful impression a living author was likely to create in a drawing room. All too many intellectuals feel just this way about big businessmen—they are willing enough to be subsidized by foundations, but as for pondering their benefactors' place in history—that is another matter.

Dr. Thomas C. Cochran of the University of Pennsylvania is a happy exception to the rule. Co-author with William Miller of *The Age of Enterprise*—the only book to do justice to the role of business in American history—he has now given us in *Railroad Leaders* a tantalizing sampling of the business correspondence of sixty-one of the leading railroad entrepreneurs of the late 19th century. Not one to draw rash conclusions, the editor would have us remember that "the writings of our sixty-one men are probably representative only of the more scrupulous railroad thinking . . . of the period." Yet certain guesses may now be made about the men who built the roads that spanned the continent, and at this no one is better qualified than Dr. Cochran. "The railroad businessman seems to have been first and foremost a pragmatist," we are told. "The question was: what worked to the advantage of management or the company?"

One of the more enlightened pragmatists in Dr. Cochran's anthology was Robert Harris of the Burlington, who questioned whether it was wise to lay down too many rules. "There is so much to be done in connection with Railroad transactions that is characterized by unreason that we can hardly expect to establish the 'philosophy' of management," Harris argued. He hoped that "experience will demonstrate what course will be good for the greatest good of the greatest number."

Charles Elliott Perkins, who also served the Burlington, was inclined to be more conservative than Harris. "If you improve on your neighbors . . . they will soon overtake you," he warned a colleague who talked of introducing gadgets. Sympathizing with Perkin's predicament, Dr. Cochran points out that "in most types of enterprise, certainly including the railroads, a continual innovator, such as inventor Aaron Denison of Waltham Watch Company fame, was a business menace."

Probably the compiler of *Railroad Leaders* would agree that John Murray Forbes of the Michigan Central and Burlington lines was too much of an intellectual to be typical of the business world. "My particular hobby has been, and is, true democracy," Forbes declared, "which I consider to be broader than anti-slavery and to include it." He was more than annoyed by "the recent rascally abuse of stock dividends by

Vanderbilt" and once fumed that "Gould has as many aliases as a London profession[al] thief."

Less of an idealist than Forbes was Robert Schuyler, who retired to Europe in 1854 after adding some $2,000,000 to the nominal capital of the New Haven by issuing bogus stock. Schuyler was, incidentally, very much put out when the public complained of accidents on fast trains. "Passengers must be aware," he announced, "that in a train run at such a speed failure of any part . . . is likely to be attended with consequences more disastrous than in the case of a slower train. And consequently must be presumed to have in view all these considerations when they take such a train."

From what has been said, it must be obvious to everyone that the editor of this anthology kept his standards just as high as those of the compiler of the *Oxford Book of English Prose*. Every letter in *Railroad Leaders* may not be a gem, but on every page we are reminded of the historical importance of men buried all too long in the pages of Moody's *Manuals*.

The New-York Historical Society — WAYNE ANDREWS

The Golden Age of Homespun. By JARED VAN WAGENEN, JR. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1953. xviii + 280 pages, index, illustrations by Erwin H. Austen. $3.50.)

Mr. Van Wagenen has collected an informal and informative record of "the farm life, the household handicrafts, and the rural occupations" of the "age of homespun," which began with the earliest settlements of upstate New York, reached its peak during the post-Revolutionary generation, and drew to a close about the time of the Civil War.

Pictorial Guidebook to Colleges and Universities in the Empire State. HAROLD EARL HAMMOND, editor. (Albany, N.Y.: The Argus Company Press, 1953. 48 pages. Free on request to Harold E. Hammond, P.O. Box 12, Schenectady 1, N.Y.)

An illustrated guide to New York State's many colleges and universities, designed primarily for the use of high school students and guidance counsellors.

The Beginnings of Graduate Education in America. By RICHARD J. STORR. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. ix + 195 pages, index, biblio. $5.00.)

A history of American graduate education before the Civil War, including several chapters on the university movement in New York City in the 1850's.

Rag, Tag and Bobtail. The Story of the Continental Army 1775–1783. By Lynn Montross. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952. [x] + 519 pages, maps and panoramas, biblio., index. $5.00.)

The story of the American War for Independence, emphasizing the human side of the conflict and based largely on contemporary journals and diaries.

Explorers of the Pacific. European and American Discoveries in Polynesia. By Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter H. Buck). [Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Special Publication 43]. (Honolulu, T. H.: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1953. viii + 125 pages, illus., biblio., index. $1.75.)

A well-illustrated summary of the many expeditions to the South Seas from Magellan's to that of the American Charles Wilkes in the mid-nineteenth century.

Political Caricature in the United States in Separately Published Cartoons. An Annotated List by Frank Weitenkampf. (New York: The New York Public Library, 1953. 184 pages, index of subjects. $3.50.)

Reprinted from *The New York Public Library Bulletin* of March-December 1952, this catalogue lists cartoons separately published in the United States from 1787 to 1898. "Excluded are those issued in colonial days, as well as those published in periodicals and books. Cartoons dealing with foreign affairs are included only if the United States enters into the scene." The arrangement is chronological, with a subject index.

Puritan Sage. Collected Writings of Jonathan Edwards. Vergilius Ferm, editor. (New York: Library Publishers, 1953. xxvii + 640 pages, illus. $7.50.)

A selection from the works of the Puritan theologian, published in commemoration of the two-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his birth.

Thomas Wolfe at Washington Square. By Thomas Clark Pollock and Oscar Cargill. (New York: New York University Press, 1954. xiii + 163 pages, biblio., illus. $7.50.)

The Correspondence of Thomas Wolfe and Homer Andrew Watt. Edited by Oscar Cargill and Thomas Clark Pollock. (New York: New York University Press, 1954. xi + 53 pages, facsim., port. $2.50. Both volumes, boxed, $10.00.)

(1) An account of the novelist's English instructorship at NYU's Washington Square College, 1924–1930, and of his life and development during that period. (2) His correspondence with his department head. Scholarly, handsome additions to Wolfeiana.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

DURING THE LAST QUARTER of 1953, in addition to their regular intramural activities, several members of the staff represented the Society outside its walls. Mrs. Meryle R. Evans, Supervisor of Public Relations, discussed the Society's activities and collections more or less regularly on several radio and television programs. Mr. Francis W. Bilodeau, Supervisor of Education, represented the Society at the annual conference of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., Hotel New Yorker, October 26th. On November 20th our Librarian, Miss Dorothy C. Barck, discussed Castle Garden on a WNYC broadcast. Mr. Arthur B. Carlson, on November 30th, gave an illustrated talk at the York Club on "Battery to Kingsbridge, 1800–1900" for the New York Chapter of Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America; and on December 10th he represented the Society at the opening meeting of the new Worth Street Historical Society.

Among guest organizations which used our auditorium for meetings during the last months of the year, and viewed our exhibits, were: The Civil War Round Table, November 1st; the National Audubon Society, November 16th and 17th; the Washington Heights Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, November 20th; Daughters of the Confederacy, November 27th; and the Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, December 2d.

A series of illustrated lectures, mainly by members of our own staff, was presented in the auditorium for the School Art League: October 17th, "About Faces," by Burne Hogarth; October 24th, "New York as Artists Have Seen Us," by Francis W. Bilodeau; November 7th, "Sports in American Art," by Arthur B. Carlson; and November 14th, "Restoration of Oil Paintings," by Mrs. Ingrid-Maerta Held, the Society's Painting Restorer.

Four Saturday morning programs were presented by our Department of Education for high school students in Social Studies: October 10th, "Early New York City," including the movie "Little Old New York"; October 31st, "Early New York State," including the movie "Dragonwyck"; November 21st, "The American Revolution," including the movie "The Howards of Virginia"; and November 28th, "The California Gold Rush," including the movie "Sutter's Gold."

Beginning October 3d and continuing through November 28th, nine feature films were shown for the general public on successive Saturday afternoons in our auditorium, under the series title: "The New York Theme." On January 9th the winter film series entitled "Know Your U.S.A." will open in the auditorium and continue on successive Saturday afternoons (2:00 P.M.) through March 27th. The series will comprise ten documentary film programs about this nation—the land, its

history and government, and its people. You and your friends will be welcome.

On December 6th, the Second Annual Concert Series opened in the auditorium with an introductory talk by Dr. Grace Spofford, Director of the Music School, Henry Street Settlement, and with a program of the Juilliard String Quartette. The Community Opera performed Menotti's "The Telephone" on December 13th, and The Charles Pope Choristers gave a Christmas concert on December 20th. The concert series will continue on successive Sundays at 3:00 P.M. through March 28th. A prospectus of the concert series may be obtained from Mr. Bilodeau, Supervisor of Education.

The schedule of fall and winter special exhibitions follows:

Ended November 15: THE HEALING ART OF EARLY NEW YORK.

Ended December 31: CHARLES LENNOX WRIGHT I, PIONEER OF ZINC ETCHINGS.

1953–1954 (continuing): COMMODORE MATTHEW C. PERRY CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION of his opening of Japan to American commerce.

November 4–February 8: OLD-FASHIONED WINTERS—sports, fashions, transportation, blizzards, and scenes in New York City.

December 3–February 8: PAINTINGS BY WILLIAM SIDNEY MOUNT—representative works from the Ward Melville Collection, Stony Brook, L. I.

December 4–January 5: KNICKERBOCKER SANTA CLAUS—a Christmas exhibition relating to St. Nicholas in New York City.

January 6–July 31: THE FIRST CENTURY OF COLUMBIA COLLEGE—in observation of the 1954 Bicentennial of Columbia University.

January 6–July 31: JOHN PETER ZENGER—books, broadsides, and newspapers printed by him in colonial New York.

January 19: A special exhibition relating to the Jewish Tercentennial Celebration.

February 3 (permanent): EARLY AMERICAN ARTS AND CRAFTS from the permanent collections of the Society.

March 3: THE LATHROP COLGATE HARPER COLLECTION—contemporary material relating to the Spanish-American War, a recent gift to the Society by Mrs. Lathrop Colgate Harper.

The schedule of lectures for members and guests for the 1953–1954 season follows:

October 6: "American Art and History as Depicted in the Henry Francis Dupont Winterthur Museum," by Mrs. Charles F. Montgomery, Associate Curator of the Winterthur Collections.

ovember 4: "Bits and Pieces of American Naval History," by Mr. Irving S. Olds, Fourth Vice-President of the Society.

ecember 4: "Knickerbocker Santa Claus," by Professor Charles W. Jones of Cornell. The address was followed by the traditional St. Nicholas Day refreshments in Dexter Hall.

nuary 5: "Man's Right to Knowledge," by Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzburger, publisher of *The New York Times* and chairman of the Columbia University Bicentennial Committee.

ebruary 2: "American Folk Art," by Mrs. Jean Lipman, author, editor of *Art in America.*

larch 2: "The Spanish-American War," by Mr. Charles Johnson Post.

April 6: "Baroness Hyde de Neuville and the Society's Collection of Her Early 19th-Century American Drawings," by Mr. Wayne Andrews, Curator of Manuscripts.

May 4: "Colonel John Trumbull and The New-York Historical Society," by Professor Theodore Sizer, Department of the History of Art, Yale University.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

TAPESTRY depicting the coming of Belgian settlers (Walloons and Flemings) to Manhattan Island in 1624. It was made for the Belgian Pavilion at the New York World's Fair of 1939. *Gift of the Belgian Government through Foreign Minister Paul van Zeeland and New York City's 300th Anniversary Committee.*

Seventy-six volumes, mostly genealogical. *Bequest of Colonel Louis Effingham de Forest.*

Manuscript autobiography of Countess M. Lavinia Magri, widow of General Tom Thumb. *Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas C. Desmond.*

Oil painting of an Indian hunting scene by George de Forrest Brush (1855–1941). *Gift of Dr. Loring Holmes Dodd.*

Oil painting, "On the Bronx River, West Farms," by William R. Miller, 1887. *Gift of Mr. Charles E. Dunlap.*

Twenty-seven illustrated children's books, latter half of the 19th century. *Gift of Miss Anna Gertrude Ferris.*

Letter book containing copies of correspondence, 1834–1838, of Samuel Thomson (1784–1850), relating to the building of the New York Custom House (Sub-Treasury Building) on Wall Street. *Gift of Mrs. William H. French (Clara Thomson).*

One-hundred-six American pamphlets, 1828–1872, relating to economic and political history. *Gift of Mrs. Augustus Hand.*

One-hundred-nine books and pamphlets relating to American history and politics, 18th and 19th centuries; 221 publications of the Newcomen Society; 34 yacht registers and yacht-club reports; Audubon's *Birds of America*, eight volumes, and Audubon and Bachman's *Quadrupeds of America*, three volumes; seven Stan V. Henkels auction catalogues of the Mitchell and Carson Collections of engraved portraits. *Gift of Henry O. Havemeyer, Esquire.*

Table cover in crazy-quilt design, made by an ancestor of the donor. *Gift of Mrs. John V. Irwin.*

Embroidered crazy-quilt made by Mrs. Elbridge Gerry Spaulding, wife of Elbridge Gerry Spaulding (1809–1897), Buffalo, N. Y., banker and member of Congress, 1849–1851, 1859–1863. *Gift of Mrs. Leifthorne-Thomsen.*

Bronze statuette, "Diana," by Edward McCartan, 1939. *Gift of Miss Eleanor M. Mellon.*

Dutch Bible (Amsterdam, 1752) containing family records of Samuel Schuyler; 19 deeds, legal papers, and five letters of the Schuyler and Clopper families; Peter Clopper's membership certificate in the New York Marine Society, 1772; four daguerreotypes of Mr. and Mrs. David Miller (Jane Ann Schuyler) and their children. *Gift of Mrs. Nicholas R. Mersereau (Louise Schuyler Miller).*

Two silver-gilt rattles made in Birmingham, 1864–1867, used in the Stuyvesant family; 18th-century brass bed-warmer. *Gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy.*

Manuscript cookbook used by the donor's grandmother, Mrs. Susanna Lundie Muir Moffat, in New York City, 1848, with some earlier recipes of her husband's family, the Moffats, in Scotland in the late 18th century; *Paper Dolls* (New York, 1856), and two Brooklyn newspapers, February 1864. *Gift of Miss Susanna Myers.*

Lithograph of Sergeant Andrew Wallace (born 1730), a Revolutionary War veteran, at the age of 105 years, "drawn from life and sold for his benefit"; silhouette of Polly Dusenbury, and other gifts. *Gift of the Estate of Mrs. Francis L. Noble (Mary Braman) through her sister, Miss Irene Braman.*

Volume of photographs of Pelham Extension Camp and Pelham Naval Camp under construction, March–November 1918. *Gift of Mr. Beecher Ogden.*

Two 18th-century mirrors from the collection of the late Mrs. J. Insley Blair, mother of the donor. *Gift of Mrs. J. Woodhull Overton.*

Oil portrait of Henry Parish (1788–1856), prominent New York merchant and great-uncle of the donor, by an unidentified artist. *Gift of Mrs. F. deLancey Robinson.*

Two fire buckets with allegorical figures, dated 1847. *Gift of Mrs. Francis M. Sinclair.*

Six manuscript contract books, 1843–1897, and thirty account books, 1845–1910, of John Butler Snook (1815–1901), architect of New York City, and of his sons and successors; over 200 rolls of architectural drawings for residences and business buildings, principally in New York City, designed by John B. Snook and John B. Snook & Sons prior to 1901; fifty architectural books, mostly European folios, from John B. Snook's library; sign of "Jno. B. Snook/Architect/Established 1837." The donor heads the firm of John B. Snook Sons, Architects, and is the grandson of John Butler Snook, who founded the business in 1837. Known as John B. Snook & Sons from 1887 to 1901, when the present name was assumed, the Snook office has been associated from generation to generation with the Wendels, the Hoffmans, the Lorillards, the Goelets, and other New York families interested in real estate. Among the famous buildings for which the office was responsible may be mentioned: the St. John's Park Freight Terminal, the Grand Central Station of 1871, and last but not least, the block-long residence on Fifth Avenue between 51st and 52d Streets of William H. Vanderbilt and his daughters Mrs. Elliott F. Shepard and Mrs. William D. Sloane. *Gift of Mr. Thomas E. Snook, Jr.*

Thirty-two scrapbooks, relating principally to pugilism and the theater; 53 programs; 14 photographs of actors and actresses; 31 World War I posters. *Gift of Mr. J. B. Stack.*

Silver coffee pot made by Jones, Ball & Poor, Boston, 1846, which belonged to Mrs. Robert Struthers (Sophia G. Beebe). *Gift of Mrs. Robert Struthers.*

Oil portrait showing Gerard (1806–1859) and Susan Rivington (Van Horne) Stuyvesant, grandparents of the donor; miniature of the donor's father, Augustus Van Horne Stuyvesant, Sr. (*c.* 1839–1918). *Bequest of Augustus Van Horne Stuyvesant, Jr.*

Silhouette of John Washbourne, grandfather of the donor, by Auguste Edouart. *Gift of Mr. Frederick Lyttleton Washbourne.*

Watercolor drawing of the preliminary, or first, engagement between the *Chesapeake* and the *Shannon*, June 1, 1813, by an unidentified artist after the original by Robert Dodd. *Gift of Mr. Forsyth Wickes.*

Black Hawk War engraved powder horn of Tin Tansel, [1832]. *Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie.*

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CENTRAL PARK WEST & 77TH STREET

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